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LAND AND LIVELIHOOD ON NOKIL  
An Atoll in the Eastern Carolines

PART I

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## FOREWORD

The chief purpose of this foreword is to attempt to acknowledge some of the assistance I have received from others, without which the work could not have been done. Above all I wish to express my gratitude to the Office of Naval Research, and to the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council, and particularly its Executive Secretary, Dr. Harold J. Coolidge. These agencies, through the efficient and understanding offices of Dr. Coolidge, have created an opportunity for large scale research in social anthropology such as has never occurred before, and at the same time, have given each individual complete freedom in carrying out and reporting his research, which alone can create the opportunity for truly scientific work.

My debt of gratitude is heavy to many naval officers in the Pacific area, and to the representatives of the Pacific Science Board from Honolulu west. In particular, however, I wish to express my gratitude to Commander Lee Duke of Commarianas, the liaison man between that naval command and our crew of researchers, to Commander Huxley of Truk, and most especially to Commander Mooney and the officers and men of the naval unit at Ponape who made every effort within their power to insure the success of our field work.

Even deeper are my obligations to my friends, informants and colleagues on Mokil who did their level best (and even learned to speak English) to explain to me what life is about on that lovely island. First on the list of faithful helpers and loyal friends whom I can never thank enough is Harry. Others whose aid was of great value are Opet, King August, Alen, Jaulik, James, Olten and Isaac.

Since my return from the field several people have assisted me in locating references in the literature to Mokil history. I wish in particular to thank Miss Mary Alden Walker, Librarian and Research Secretary for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Boston; Mr. Angus Ross of King's College, Cambridge, England, and Dr. Clellan S. Ford, Director of the Cross-Cultural Survey at Yale University.

Mr. Gerald Allen Green, a graduate student at the University of Southern California, devoted several arduous months out of his busy life to planimeter measurements of our field maps and to the dreary tabulation of data on land transfers. Miss Frances Hull, Miss Caroline Weston, and Miss Mary Rabin have seen me through the last weeks of struggle to get this



manuscript completed. My wife Nora has furnished excellent advice and helped me at many points in the research.

I salute all these able and invaluable assistants, and hope that what follows will make it seem at least slightly worth their while.

## Introduction

This report covers approximately five months' field work on Mokil Atoll in the Eastern Caroline Islands. The work was carried out during the summer and fall of 1947 under the sponsorship of the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council and the United States Navy. I was accompanied in the field by Mr. Conrad B. Bontzen who remained on Mokil five months after I left. He will submit a separate report in accordance with the terms of the contracts under which the research was done. Mr. Bontzen and I, however, viewed our research as a joint project and hope eventually to publish a monograph in which the two portions are interwoven.

Our team was assigned to the Ponape administrative area with the understanding that we could select the particular locality within that area where we felt our research efforts would be most rewarding. An excellent monograph on Ponape had previously been written by Dr. William R. Bascom for the United States Commercial Company. In addition, Mr. Saul Eisenberg, like us, a cultural anthropologist and a participant in the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology, was assigned to Ponape as well as a linguist and a physical anthropologist. On the other hand, no one planned to study an atoll in the Eastern Carolines except for one geographer who planned a brief stay to gather data on a problem of limited scope. We felt that Ponape would be comparatively well covered and that we could contribute most to the project by doing a detailed study of an atoll. I must confess also, to a preference for field work in a comparatively small and self-contained community where the field worker can get to know everyone in the community and can comprehend the total social structure. We were also interested in working on an island where photographic opportunities would be good because we are interested in extensive use of both still and motion pictures for recording anthropological field data and had received a special grant from the Viking Fund to do a documentary motion picture in conjunction with our field work. The fact that we landed on Mokil rather than Ngatik or Pingelap, similar atolls in the Ponape administrative area, was essentially accidental. We had a two-day preliminary visit on Mokil in July 1947 and then returned to Ponape, planning to accompany the station ship to Ngatik before determining which of these two islands to select for intensive study.

Transportation difficulties, however, made it obvious that we could not visit Ngatik without risking a considerable delay in commencing our field work. We therefore, returned to Mokil when the Navy very cooperatively offered to make a special trip to land us there.<sup>1</sup>

Mokil was also the island selected by the geographer, Raymond Murphy, for his field work. He was there during the first few weeks of our stay. He had hoped for some sort of three-way collaboration with him when we decided to work on Mokil. He, however, preferred to work alone. Our findings, consequently, are entirely independent of his, including the mapping of land holdings.

We had come to the field with the intention of doing a general study of the social structure of the community or island we selected for investigation but with the intention of concentrating on economic activities and the organization of the economic aspects of the social system. It was our hope to make a contribution to the field of comparative economics along the lines suggested by Raymond Firth and Melville Herskovits. Our preliminary visit to Mokil suggested it would be an ideal place to carry out such a study because of its high degree of economic autonomy. Additional circumstances which we discovered during the first few weeks of our field work confirmed our original feeling that Mokil would be an excellent place to do a study orientated toward economic organization. We found that Mokil is very heavily populated considering the limited area of soil for crop raising and the poor quality of that soil. About 425 people live on the island which has a total area of less than one-half square mile. The Mokilese derive nearly all of their subsistence and money income from the land and the products of the surrounding sea. We likewise discovered that all the land is privately owned and that it was possible to make maps showing all of the property boundaries. Most exciting and unusual of all, perhaps, was the extensive amount of historical information available for the last 175 years or so. Late in the eighteenth century a prehistoric typhoon devastated the island and resulted in the death by starvation of all but twenty-five to thirty individuals. All the present population of Mokil is descended from these survivors plus occasional immigrants from other Pacific island groups and also several white men who married and reared families on the island. It was possible to construct a complete genealogy for the present population showing their descent from those early survivors. In some family lines, the genealogy runs back for ten generations. We discovered furthermore that the transfers of land by gift, inheritance etc. were recalled for several generations back. Informants told me, as a matter of fact, what the original division of the land was among the three men who headed the land-owning families who survived the typhoon and also gave me an account of every transfer of ownership of land that has occurred since the prehistoric typhoon. The analysis and interpretation of this information will constitute a major portion of this report.

As I mentioned earlier, Mr. Bentzen and I attempted to correlate our field work about a single problem so that our work would lead ultimately to a single integrated report. We worked out a division of labor in which Mr. Bentzen took primary responsibility for mapping the present land-holdings, places of habitation, land utilization etc. He also concentrated on a detailed study of the present functioning of the economy of the society.

My own share of the field work involved an analysis of the social structure and the collection of the historical data referred to above. After taking a census of the island and discovering the possibilities of constructing a comprehensive genealogy, I spent most of my first six weeks in the field on the latter task. The "genealogy" of land transfers next absorbed a considerable amount of time.

Other historical materials obtained include accounts of contacts between Mokil and other islands, particularly the Marshalls during prehistoric and historic times. As much information as possible was also gathered concerning white contacts and influences on Mokil. These involved investigation of the economic and acculturative results of whaling-ship contacts, the copra trade, and wage work at Nauru. Data was likewise gathered on the missionizing of Mokil and the effects of the conversion on native life.

Some information was obtained on the political history of Mokil including some incomplete information on the structure of the aboriginal politico-religious system. Data was also obtained on the line of high chiefs or "kings" in which it was discovered that a long drawn out struggle for power occurred during late prehistoric or proto-historic times which resulted in the assassination of several kings.

A study was also made of the kinship system. Data were gathered on the structure and history of the extended patrilineal families called poneyneys. The detailed genealogy and the phenomenal memories of the Mokil informants made it possible also to gather considerable material from the distant as well as the recent past on specific instances of marriage, divorce and adoption. On Mokil as on most other South Pacific islands, many children are adopted outside of their families of birth. I have gathered a considerable body of material on motives and results of adoptions, again with emphasis on the economic aspects.

Since this report and Mr. Bentzen's really constitute a unified body of data artificially separated for purposes of the official reports, it will be necessary for me to refer briefly to many points which will be covered in detail in Mr. Bentzen's report. In order to avoid constant verbal references to his report, I shall insert a standard symbol at the points where I touch briefly on material he will present in detail. This symbol is (\*).



## Chapter I Mokil Today

### The Island

The atoll of Mokil lies between Kusale and Ponape in the Eastern Caroline Islands at 6°40' N. and 159°47' E. The reef is shield-shaped with maximum dimensions of a little over two miles north and south and one and one-third miles east and west. There are no passages through the reef except three very shallow ones in which even small boats drag bottom at low water. The two most used passages lie on the west side of the reef and visiting ships usually lie in the lee of the reef to the west. There is no anchorage. Only during the periods of occasional southwest winds is the passage over the northern end of the reef useable. Due to the effects of wind and current, there is a constant flow of water into the lagoon over the northern and eastern reefs and a corresponding seaward current over the western reef even when the tide is rising. The enclosed lagoon has a maximum length of about one and three-fourths miles north and south and a maximum east-west width of about three-fourths of a mile. An internal reef bisects the north-south extent of the lagoon and numerous coral heads approach the surface in the southern half.

Karlap, an elongated hook-shaped islet on the northeast side of the lagoon, is the main islet. All the Mokilese live along the lagoon side of this islet. Its area, including the large taro patch in the interior at the main bend, is about 143.2 acres. Urak at the southern tip of the reef is the second largest islet with an area of about 110 acres. The third islet, Manton, located in the northwest corner of the reef, has an area of approximately 55.5 acres. Both Urak and Manton are devoted primarily to the raising of plant foods, although some pigs are kept on Manton.

On the lagoon side of the large taro pit at the big bend of Karlap, the land rises to an elevation of perhaps twenty-five or thirty feet above sea level. The rest of Karlap and all of Urak and Manton lie at elevations not exceeding ten to fifteen feet above sea level. All three islets are densely covered with vegetation. Coconut trees predominate with a scattering of breadfruit and other trees (\*), except for the large area on Karlap and the smaller individual areas on Urak and Manton which have been developed into pits for growing taro. The best areas for growing breadfruit include the high part of Karlap and some of the interior of Urak (\*). Other important sources of plant food are pandanus, bananas, arrow root, and dry land taro. Protein foods consist of fish and other sea food, pigs, chickens and dogs. Pigs are predominantly feast food and the other domestic animals are not sufficiently numerous to furnish a staple part of the diet. Chickens, ducks and even turkeys were

formerly raised in large quantities but were all killed a few years ago by epidemic diseases. Chickens are now staging a comeback and the flocks are being rapidly increased (\*). The only other domestic animals are a few scrawny cats kept as pets. Terns which roost and nest in the tall trees are sometimes captured for food and the young are occasionally reared as pets. The Japanese populated Urak with a species of lizard which grows to as much as two feet in length and which was used as food by the Okinawans whom the Japanese sent annually to Mokil to smoke fish for shipment to the homeland. The Mokilese refused to eat these animals.

### The Village

The lagoon shore of Karlap is lined with canoe houses, consisting of pandanus-thatched roofs set up on four posts without side walls. The lagoon shore has been extensively built up with rock work to make level living and working areas raised well above high tide. Sunk in this built-up shore are a number of fish wells formerly used to preserve alive excess catches of fish. These fish wells are not often used today since the people have learned to preserve fish by drying and smoking them. Behind the canoe houses, a broad path of coral gravel runs the length of Karlap. The construction and maintenance of this path are public work and represent one of the many projects to which all able-bodied men on Mokil are required to contribute two days' labor per month as part of their taxation.

Behind the path is a row of frame houses constructed mainly during Japanese times. Some of these houses are tiny boxes with narrow front porches, but the more pretentious ones consist of two rooms with a wide verandah around all four sides. All these houses are raised on wooden posts to a height of approximately five feet. Very few of the frame houses are actually used as dwellings. Most of them, rather, constitute a form of "conspicuous consumption" and are used primarily for storage. In most cases where these frame houses are used as dwellings, the family lives actually beneath the house in the space created by the piers on which the house is raised. Not all families have these frame houses but nearly all of them build native style sleeping houses. These are thatched roof structures supported, like the canoe houses, by four corner posts. The sleeping houses, however, have side walls of matting, thatch, boards or corrugated sheet iron. In addition to these structures, every family has one or more cooking houses which are again thatched roofs with four corner posts and no side walls. The cooking houses are frequently quite ramshackle and dilapidated. The stone ovens or ums are frequently built beneath the shelter of these roofs so that the cooking and the cooks will be protected against the frequent heavy showers of rain. Since the Americans have taken over the island government, most families have been prevailed upon to construct latrines, usually set some distance away from the dwellings on the seaward side of the island. Pigs are corralled either in log pens or in areas

surrounded by steep sided ditches. Most people allow their chickens to run loose but during our stay on the island a small quantity of chicken wire became available for the first time since the war and several of the more well-to-do families built chicken coops. It is to be expected that the number of such structures will increase.

Except for the water from green coconuts, the people of Nokil are dependent upon rain for their supply of fresh water. The island is dotted with gasoline and oil drums used for catchment. Many of these drums are placed at the bases of coconut trees to catch the water that runs down the trunks during the heavy showers. Many of the frame houses which are roofed with corrugated iron or aluminum sheets have short sections of gutter with a drum placed on the ground below to catch the water from the roof. Several families have above-ground concrete water tanks and adjoining bath houses. These structures were built for the most part during German times. There are also a number of earth cisterns dug into ground water level and containing a foot or so of contaminated brackish water. Until some forty odd years ago, these cisterns furnish the sole supply of min water for drinking and all domestic uses. But now, however, the people have been convinced that such water is dangerous to drink and they use it only for bathing and clothes washing except when forced to bathe in it during short periods of drouth.

There are several public structures on Nokil. Most impressive is the church which is built of concrete with a concrete floor. It is perhaps fifty to sixty feet long by thirty feet wide, complete with pews and benches and a second floor gallery which extends along the two long sides. The church is situated on the lagoon side of the large taro pit and fairly close to it and is thus some 200 feet inland from the lagoon. A secondary path passes the church and joins the main path several hundred feet on either side of the church. There are several frame houses on each side of this path.

The school and the office used for official business by the "king" and the secretary are located just inside the main path in the region of the big bend on Karlap (lot 23B). The office is a frame building with glazed windows and doors and is placed directly on the ground in contrast to the frame houses which are raised on piles. The school immediately adjoins this building. It has a thatched roof and a solid railing of saplings placed side by side to a height of about four feet. The area from the top of the railing to the eaves is open but was screened during our residence on the island. The lagoon shore in front of the school and office has been built up by public work into a pier and landing place for visitors. It is marked by a flag pole flying an American flag which is meticulously lowered at sunset by the "policeman." All the structures mentioned in this paragraph are built on land that belongs to the king. He has said that this land would be donated to the community, but has not as yet made any formal transfer. Some people are suspicious that he may intend to hold on to the land including the improvements. This is one of the sources of political tension on the island which will be discussed in detail in Mr. Bentzen's report.



A quasi-public building is the frame house belonging to the "No. 2 king". This man actually resides permanently in Ponape where he looks out for the interests of the Mokilese and where he currently works as an interpreter and "straw boss" for the Navy Civil Government Unit. His house on Mokil is available as a domicile for any visiting white officials who might want to stay overnight. We occupied it while conducting our field work on Mokil.

There is a native medical practitioner on Mokil who has a dispensary in his home on lot K 34. The medicants, a surprisingly good assortment, including penicillin and sulfanilamide, are supplied by the Navy without charge. The Navy, also pays a small salary to the medical practitioner and to a "sanitary inspector" who is supposed to control insects and rats and to enforce regulations pertaining to the maintenance of latrines, etc. Medical treatment is given to patients without charge. Either a doctor or a medical corpsman accompanies the station ship and spends a few hours in Mokil every trip. Once while we were there the whole population was wormed. On another occasion, everyone was treated with DDT powder to kill head lice. The doctor also sees individual patients. Some are taken to the Navy hospital in Ponape for treatment. No operations more complicated than tooth pulling or bone setting can be performed on Mokil. An inflamed appendix, for example, usually either gets better or ruptures before it can be treated.

No one on Mokil has adequate protection against flies and mosquitoes which are numerous at some periods of the year. It would be virtually impossible to screen the native style houses. This problem is an academic one so far, however, because almost no screening has been available on Mokil for private use. The few bed nets that have been acquired are reserved for small babies and the sick. During periods when mosquitoes are particularly numerous, almost no one on the island can sleep without disturbance. During these periods many families maintain smudges all night and spend most of the night sitting about them talking, sleeping only by snatches.

When we first arrived on Mokil there were only four kerosene lanterns on the island. Most people made shift for night illumination by filling bottles with kerosene, stuffing the necks with rags which were then lit to emit a dim flickering light and a great deal of sooty smoke. Many of the women frequently worked several hours after dark by this poor light, weaving delicate hand-craft for sale to the Island Trading Company of Micronesia. Many families leave these torches burning as a night light when they go to sleep.

We were impressed by the fact that some people are always awake and active whatever the hour of day or night. We have seen women preparing food at 2 a.m. A great deal of fishing is done at night so there is nearly always someone on the reef or in canoes engaged in the pursuit of meat. During our stay every approaching ship was spotted as soon as it appeared above the horizon even though in some cases the ship arrived off Mokil at 3 or 4:00 in the morning and lay to until daylight. On these occasions, the "Mokil Telegraph" would announce the arrival to everyone on the island.



The signal is a high-pitched two-syllable cry which I am unable to reduce to orthography. Those who are awakened first by the sound take up the cry and within a few seconds it has traveled the length of the island.

### The Kinship System

The people of Mokil are all descended from the twenty-five or thirty survivors of a prehistoric typhoon. They are consequently closely interrelated and any two people can usually trace kinship to one another through several alternate lines. There are matrilineal clans on the island but these have ceased to have any real importance in the kinship system. We found that fewer than half the people know off hand to what clan they belong. We recorded fourteen clan names before giving up our investigation of clan affiliations in the face of their obvious unimportance. For the record, Table I lists the clans I recorded as having members on Mokil -- the list may not be exhaustive. It seems obvious, from the several cases in which present

Table I		Known No.
Clan name	Source or comment	of members
1. Shosharawi	from Pingelap	6
2. Lipitan	Old Mokil	89
3. Tipwinway	Old Mokil	142
4. Tipunimen	From Gilberts*	29
5. Tipulap	From Gilberts*	10
6. Tipwinpanmey	Said to be Ponape name for Shosharawi	4
7. Tipwaluk	Old Mokil**	6
8. Shokibar	From Pingelap	4
9. Shol	From Marshalls	4
10. Nanmarik	From Marshalls***	11
11. Lamesh	Old Mokil**	9
12. Kat*baya	From Marshalls***	2
13. Tetipakwa	From Gilberts*	1
14. Luk	Old Mokil	2
Total		319

\* \*\* and \*\*\* indicate groups of two or more clans which, in the genealogies, trace back to single women.

alleged affiliations in two or more clans trace back to common female ancestors of two to four generations ago, that either: (1) even Mokilese who claim to know their clan affiliations are often in error or (2) new clan names have been invented, possibly as a dodge to avoid clan exogamy. Even so, we have records of several current marriages in which husband and wife say they belong to the same clan.

Informants say that, except for a few conservatives, clan affiliations no longer have any regulatory power over marriages.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to emphasize both the number and the non-exogamous nature of clans on Mokil because Murphy has published an erroneous statement that there are five exogamous clans on Mokil: *Geographical Review* vol. XXXVIII, No. 4, p. 599.

The kinship stress today is patrilineal. Patrilineal relatives are more important than matrilineal ones. Matrilineity takes precedence over patrilineity in the genealogies only in the occasional instances where the bulk of a present-day family's land descended at some point through a woman rather than through a man. The most common occasion where this came about was through the marriage of Mokil women to men from other places who consequently had no land holdings on Mokil. In its genealogical aspect, it is fair to say that descent is determined by land inheritance but that patrilineal reckoning is preferred if it is consistent with land inheritance. It is exceptional for adopted children to continue in the line of their parents by adoption--this occurs only when the bulk of the child's land comes from the parents by adoption.

The most important social unit is the patrilineal and patrilocal extended family. The Mokilese call these extended families paneyneys. The 425 residents of Mokil are divided into forty-one paneyneys. Two of these paneyneys actually reside in Ponape and many others have branches in Ponape, Pingelap, Rusaie, or the Marshalls. The typical paneyney consists of an elderly man and his wife with all their sons and their wives and children. In the larger paneyneys some of the grandsons of the head of the paneyney will also have married and have children. The daughters usually go to their husbands' paneyneys when they marry. Some paneyneys consist of groups of brothers, their spouses and children. There is a strong tendency for such paneyneys to break up, however, if there is enough land to make this possible. Several paneyneys include non-patrilineal relatives. These individuals are dependents without resources in some cases, in other instances they are sons born to the wife of the paneyney head by a prior marriage and brought by her to her new husband as small children.

The smallest paneyney on Mokil is a remnant consisting of an elderly widower and his adopted son. His domestic chores are performed by the unmarried daughter of one of his brothers. The largest paneyney has thirty-one residents on Mokil.

These large paneyneys occupy several domiciles usually located near one another. Each domicile tends to be occupied by a single elementary family consisting of husband, wife and children. It is notable, however, that when the children reach adolescence the boys

move out of the family sleeping house to sleep in the paneyney canoe house or in some other structure. Usually also these large paneyneys operate several ums. Sometimes the individual elementary families cook and eat separately and sometimes two or more elementary families within a paneyney cook and eat together. Unmarried adults and aged people may eat regularly with one or another of these groups or may "visit around" among them.

### The Land

Each paneyney holds and operates land of two kinds. "Coconut land" produces not only coconuts but breadfruit, pandanus, arrow root, bananas, and dry land taro. "Taro land", muck land dug to below the ground water level, produces several varieties of taro as well as sugar cane. Mr. Bentzen's report will give detailed information on this whole matter of land production. All of the land, both coconut and taro, is individually owned by various members of the paneyney. Mokil concepts of ownership, however, do not coincide with ours. I shall reserve discussion of the complex matter of land ownership for a later chapter. Here, however, in presenting this orientation chapter, it seems desirable to state that the individual owners of land do not have full control over its use and also that the patterns of utilization of coconut land and taro land are different. The head of the paneyney has executive authority over the use of all lands belonging to the paneyney. Different individual heads of paneyneys exert this authority to different degrees and in various ways. In general, however, the products of the paneyney coconut land can be gathered more or less freely by all members of the paneyney without regard for the individual ownership of the land. Taro, however, which is grown by dint of very considerable labor, may not be gathered except by the individual owner of a given plot or with his permission. The possession of adequate taro land, incidentally, is essential to the maintenance of high prestige by both individuals and paneyneys. About the harshest judgment that can be rendered against a man in Mokil is that he does not have much taro land, or worse, that he does not properly cultivate the taro he has. It is very bad manners to mention in public anyone's shortage of taro land unless the intent is to heap coals on his head and silence him in an argument.

### Watercraft

Every paneyney owns at least one outrigger sailing canoe, and a smaller and somewhat differently constructed outrigger paddling canoe. In addition most paneyneys also own a whale boat. All of these craft are constructed locally, mostly of wood which grows on the island. Small timbers for spars and outrigger struts are sometimes imported from Ponape, or driftwood may be utilized because Mokil does not produce any timber that has adequate structural strength for these uses.



Both sailing and paddling canoes which resemble one another but differ in structural details (\*) are of dugout construction. Breadfruit logs are used for the hull and smaller pieces of breadfruit form the outrigger floats. Most of the sailing canoes are about twenty-one feet long although a few are five or six feet shorter and about the size of the average paddling canoe. The hulls of sailing canoes are bilaterally asymmetrical with the greater curvature on the outrigger side at each end. This curvature helps to keep water out of the canoe when it is navigated in the open ocean and probably also facilitates steering. The sailing canoes also have removable decks about five or six feet long at each end with a vertical cross-wise washboard near the inboard end that drains off most of the water that comes aboard when a wave breaks over the bow of the canoe. Sails are now-a-days made of sail cloth, canvas, or other strong cloth as it is available. In earlier times, pandanus leaves were plaited to make the triangular sails. This technique is still remembered and was used during the war when the supplies of manufactured cloth were exhausted. The sails are approximately triangular in shape, although two edges are cut in delicate complex curves in order that the sail will bag properly to catch the wind. The leading edge of the sail and the sloping lower edge are both permanently lashed to spars. The slanting upright forward spar is attached to a short mast about three-fourths of its length above the deck. This mast is stayed to the outrigger platform by locally manufactured rope made of coconut husk fibers. There are no stays on the leeward side of the mast so that if the sail is taken aback by poor seamanship or a sudden shift of wind, mast and all collapse into the water. On the other hand, the rigging of the mast and sail permit the whole assembly to be dismantled or erected in a few minutes' time. This is an important advantage inasmuch as the mast and sail are dismantled and the canoe taken from the water and put under the shelter of the canoe house at the end of every voyage. If the canoe were left in the water, the voracious sea worms would soon riddle the hull. If it were left ashore in the sun, the hull would warp and split and become unuseable.

Sailing canoes are constructed partly by cooperative and partly by individual labor (\*). The tree is felled and roughly shaped by a cooperative group. After several weeks of soaking in salt water which removes or neutralizes the latex-like sap of the breadfruit, the log is ready to be shaped into the hull and outrigger. This long and arduous task is performed by the individual who will own the canoe. He occasionally enlists the aid of an acknowledged expert who will usually also be a close relative. Weak places and knot holes in the hull will need to be repaired by inlaying carefully fitted blocks of wood. Other pieces are also usually set in along the top of the hull to bring the gunwale to a continuous level. The Mokilese do not apply full length planks along the gunwale to increase the freeboard as is done by some other Pacific Islanders.

When, after many days of labor, the owner has completed the hull, the outrigger float, and all the other parts of the canoe including a large quantity of pwel (cord made from coconut fiber), he notifies the community that a "canoe-tying" is in prospect. On the appointed day,



twenty to thirty men from other paneyneys assist the owner to assemble all the parts of the canoe. This is done mostly by complicated lashings with the pwel. The owner must provide a large quantity of feast foods for all the cooperative workers. In addition, he owes each man who has worked on his canoe-tying a day's work when the helper in turn builds a canoe of his own.

### Cooperative Work

The tree felling and canoe-tying are examples of two somewhat different types of cooperative work which will be discussed in detail by Mr. Bentzen in his report. Most of the "big works" performed by men is accomplished by one form or another of cooperative labor and work exchange. The construction of a house or the re-thatching of a canoe house which must be done every few years is another example. The application of the new thatch roof is performed by cooperative labor; in addition, each paneyney that owns a canoe house is expected to supply fifty thatch "shingles". Each paneyney manufactures its share of shingles from pandanus grown on its own land. In this way, the Mokilese solve the practical problem that almost no paneyney would have enough mature pandanus at any one time to make all the shingles needed for a roofing job nor enough woman power to produce such a quantity of shingles in a reasonable period of time.

Other big works which are completed by cooperative work exchange include the construction of docks, canoe ramps and sea walls along the lagoon shore, the excavation of new pits for taro cultivation, the sawing of lumber by hand from large breadfruit trees, and a number of other less frequently performed tasks. The different types of cooperative work, to be described in detail by Mr. Bentzen, apply to inter-paneyney work exchange and exhibit varying degrees of formalization of the operations.

Women also sometimes engage in inter-paneyney cooperative work groups in such tasks as the preparation of pandanus fiber for weaving. Most of the work of women is individual or intra-paneyney in nature, but several women from different paneyneys will frequently join together to do their weaving, sewing, and other tasks in a group. Such group work does not apparently increase the efficiency of production, but it does demonstrate the preference of the Mokilese for working in a social group rather than in isolation. Adolescent boys from various paneyneys also form "companies" to work cooperatively on such tasks as excavating taro pits and gathering weeds and vegetation to "feed" or mulch the taro. A perpetual task on Mokil is the bringing of vegetable matter to spread about the taro plants as a mulch and to increase the humus content of the muck in which the taro grows.

### Division of Labor

The division of labor on Mokil is in general simple and is not even sharply drawn in terms of sex and age. Only men engage in dock and sea wall construction, canoe and whale boat building, the digging of taro pits and house construction and thatching. Men do most of the fishing outside of the reef, especially the trolling for big game fish such as tuna, bonito, and swordfish. They likewise participate exclusively in the harpooning of porpoise, a prized delicacy. Girls and women, however, occasionally take part in the pursuit of large fish and frequently join parties seeking smaller fish and turtles from canoes along the outside edge of the reef. Women and girls participate quite freely in the various forms of fishing on and from the reefs.

Women do virtually all of the preparation and cooking of food. The men of the household will butcher a pig or cut up large fish or turtles, but after this task is done, the further preparation of the meat, usually steaming in the stone oven or um, is done by the women of each paneyney. Men or the women may bring in the various vegetable foods, but it is always the women who pare and otherwise prepare this food and cook it. The daily preparation of the um occupies the women of the paneyney intermittently for several hours beginning in the early morning with the laying of the fire and finishing in the late afternoon with the removal of the cooked food. Many of the vegetable dishes require double cooking. Taro roots, for instance, are frequently cooked in the um and then grated, mixed with other ingredients and re-cooked as a sort of pudding (\*).

Women also do all the weaving, including the gathering and preparation of pandanus and coconut leaves. They weave various articles for family use including heavy mats, two or three of which, placed on the floor, constitute a mattress; finer mats for various household uses; fans for stirring up fires and slapping insects; occasional small hard pillows etc. They also make the articles which are sold as handicraft to the Island Trading Company. These articles include the light weight types of mats, woven belts and hats of western style, cigarette cases, satchel-like handbags, and round fans made with a tortoise shell central medallion surrounded by open work weaving and decorated at the periphery with dyed chicken feathers. Women also are responsible for the general house work and the policing of the grounds about the dwellings. It is certainly true on Mokil that women's work is never done. I have seen women preparing food for the next day at two and three o'clock in the morning and have also witnessed on many occasions women working after midnight at the fabrication of handicraft, doing the delicate weaving by the dim flickering light of an improvised kerosene torch.

Many of the tasks of daily life may be performed either by men or by women. The cultivation of taro is in general considered to be a male occupation, but a great many women also participate in it.

Such tasks as weeding, cultivating the muck or preparing the ground for new planting are usually done just after dawn before the sun becomes uncomfortably hot. The placing of grass and weeds about the plants to "feed the taro" is commonly done in the late afternoon after a day spent gathering the vegetative material. Both men and women as well as adolescent boys participate in this activity. The harvesting of taro roots is done by both men and women.

Both sexes also participate in the preparation of a newly dug taro pit. Before taro would grow in such a pit, a quantity of humus must be scraped together elsewhere, usually at a considerable distance from the new taro pit, and transported to the new pit. Such humus is frequently placed in copra bags or coconut leaf baskets and carried to the taro pit, either slung over the back or in a canoe, depending on the distance it must be transported.

The gathering of ripe coconuts and the making of copra are also jobs in which both the men and women of the paneyney work together. In Mokil the ripe nuts intended for copra are usually gathered from the ground after they have fallen from the trees. The women of the paneyney, and sometimes some of the men and boys as well, gather the nuts from the paneyney land and bring them to a central spot where one or two of the men husk them on vertical stakes driven into the ground and usually capped with an elongated cone of sheet iron. The husked nuts are transported by canoe or whaleboat to the paneyney canoe house. There, both men and women of the paneyney, as well as casual visitors, break the nuts with a blow or two of a large knife and rapidly extract the meat with a smaller knife. The water usually contained in ripe coconuts is considered to be useless and is spilled on the ground. The delicate white spongy tissue that fills the center of a sprouted nut is saved as a food delicacy. The coconut meat, cut in shreds roughly an inch wide in the process of removal from the shell, is spread thinly on mats and dried in the sun for two or three days. The care of the drying copra is primarily the task of the women of the paneyney. They must keep a sharp lookout for showers of rain and carry all the drying copra to the shelter of the canoe house before it gets wet. If the copra becomes wet, it is likely to become moldy and spoil. During the few days when the monthly harvest of copra is drying, therefore, the women of the paneyney may have to carry several hundred pounds to a ton of drying copra in and out of the canoe house several times a day.

The clearing of underbrush and collection of weeds and grass to make humus in the taro pits is considered to be primarily women's work, although both men and boys participate in it from time to time. Boys especially, frequently drawn from several paneyneys to form "companies", spent one day for each of participating paneyneys gathering grass and transporting it to the taro pit.



### Daily Round of Activity

Practically everyone in Mokil rises at dawn and many people are up and about before day-light. Any one who sleeps after dawn is considered lazy and is the object of derogatory humor. Almost every morning some adult members of the paneyney, frequently accompanied by the older children, go the taro pit to weed or cultivate and frequently also to gather several roots for the day's food. Each adult male and most of the adult female members of the paneyney owns specific taro plots within the large pit and each elementary family within the paneyney attends to its own taro. Even if a man should be away from Mokil, perhaps working in Ponape, his wife and children will be expected to care for their own taro and will not ordinarily be assisted by other members of the paneyney. Maintaining one's taro free of weeds and rapidly growing is a requisite, perhaps the prime requisite, for being considered a properly industrious and worthwhile citizen.

Meanwhile, two men of the paneyney or one man and an adolescent boy are likely to have risen at two or three o' clock in the morning and gone outside to troll in the open ocean for bonito. The best fishing is usually just at dawn. Many canoes can be seen most week days returning across the lagoon to the village an hour or two after the sun has risen.

While these activities are going on outside, the women of the paneyney will be building the u. fires to prepare the stone ovens for the day's cooking. When the taro roots are brought in, some of the women peel them at the water's edge and split the larger ones into four quarters lengthwise, whereupon they are ready for cooking.

By now, it is an hour or so after dawn. Everyone now has his first bath of the day. Many of the women swim in the lagoon and everyone in the family pours fresh water over himself from a bucket or pan which is dipped in the family rain-barrel. After a quick breakfast of cold food left over from the day before, several members of the paneyney go off to church. There is at least one church service every day of the week in the early morning. On Wednesdays there are additional services in the afternoon for the members of the Christian Endeavor. On Sundays there are four church services, two for the general public and two for the members of Christian Endeavor exclusively.

After church, the women of the paneyney set about the preparation of food to be placed in the ums which are now about hot enough to be used. The men depart to the tasks of the day which may involve working on the construction of a new canoe, whale boat or house, or which may entail a trip to one of the secondary islands to gather food or to work in one of the smaller taro pits. It is likely that on any given day some men of the paneyney will be members of one or another type of cooperative work group. They will likely be



working for a member of another paneyney, either returning a day's work done previously for their paneyney or creating a reciprocal obligation.

The women occupy themselves with various household tasks, one of which almost every day is clothes washing. Clothes are washed by dipping them in a bucket, laying them on a plank, rubbing them with soap and then beating them with a wooden club twelve to fifteen inches in length. One of the most characteristic sounds on Mokil, which reaches a crescendo in the early morning, is the rhythmic pounding of women washing clothes.

The children play about in local gangs. Some of them will be playing hopscotch or other active games, while others jump off the docks for a swim in the lagoon. It was a striking fact that children ~~52~~ three or four years old swim fearlessly in water over their heads and that no adults evince any concern for them. According to our informants, the only child who had ever drowned on Mokil was a little girl who was having a contest with two boys to see who could stay under water the longest. Each boy stayed under until the others had counted to 200. When the girl's turn came, the two boys held her under until they had counted 200. The girl was dead when they released her. This event happened forty or fifty years ago.

Another freedom of children which looked dangerous to us but caused no concern among most Mokilese adults was the handling and use by children of large and exceedingly sharp butcher knives. We have seen children playing tag over rough ground, one or two of them carrying such knives as they dashed about. Children as young as six or seven years of age readily open a drinking coconut by chopping the husk off one end with these knives. Frequently younger children and even crawling babies may be within a couple of feet of the center of operations and apparently in imminent danger of losing a hand or having their skulls split. No such accidents occurred, however, during our stay on Mokil.

About ten o'clock in the morning, the children of school age troop off to school. The three teachers are natives of Mokil who have some reading knowledge of English but have very little command of the spoken language. The school, which is in session only about two hours a day, five days a week, attempts to teach reading, writing and speaking of English, simple arithmetic and the geography of the United States. The children spend long periods trying to memorize the names of the states and their capitals and similar pointless information. Inasmuch as the teachers themselves are really unable to speak English, the children do not seem to be gaining much command of the English language from their school experience. They also learn American songs including especially patriotic ones and quasi-folk songs of the Stephen Foster type. One day I happened by the school

when the children were learning to sing "My Country 'tis of Thee" in English. On the tiny little blackboard, the words to the first verse were written thus:

MAI KANTRI TI OP TI  
SUIT LANT OP LIPERTI  
OP TI AI SIN  
LANT OP TI PILKRIMS PRAIT  
LANT WER MAI PATERS DAIT  
PROM EPERI MAUNTIN SAIT  
LET PRETUM RIN

While the children are at school, the women continue their many household tasks while the men of the paneyney are usually busily working, sometimes at home but more often out on their land somewhere. Around noon when the children return from school, the men who are working within walking distance also come home and all of the family who are present have a noon meal. This meal, like breakfast, commonly consists of food cooked the day before. It may be even simpler and consist merely of one or two green coconuts each and perhaps a banana or two. The water of the green coconuts is drunk and the nut is then split open so the soft translucent flesh can be scraped out and eaten. The implement used for this is usually a bit of the coconut husk hacked off with a knife. It makes a very efficient scoop with a curved edge with which the meat is quickly scraped off and gobbled. This substance, incidentally, is very nutritious and easily digested. In consequence it is the main food for young children and invalids.

The men who have gone off to work at a distance or on one of the islands do not return home for lunch. They usually climb one of their coconut trees and gather one or two green nuts for a snack. They may, as a matter of fact, stop work at intervals throughout the day to consume a green coconut or a casually picked banana. Only occasionally does a party of men go to the trouble of preparing an um and cooking a taro root to be eaten during the day.

In the afternoon the women usually find time to do some work leading toward the production of coconut fiber rope or some of the handicraft which they make. The children are for the most part free to play about the village. The young daughters of the family, however, must act as nurse-maids for their younger siblings. They, like their mothers, engage in their regular pursuits while the babies crawl about them or ride on their hips. It is common to see a six or eight year old girl playing hopscotch or some other game or even in swimming carrying a small child as she plays. Women, too, permit their young offspring to crawl over them, sit in their laps and even nurse while the mother continues busily working at her weaving, sewing, or preparation of food.

At various times during the day, but especially just after lunch and again in the late afternoon before supper is ready, the men of the village commonly stroll about, each with his youngest child clasped

to his breast. The babies are usually completely nude, and inasmuch as older people including adults are also usually nude from the waist up, the babies thus spend a considerable portion of each day in direct bodily contact with an older person. Adults express no anger or disgust if the baby soils them. They laugh, clean up the baby and themselves, and continue as before.

About five o'clock in the afternoon the men who have been working away from home during the day usually return. At this time the women of the family begin to open the ums and to complete preparations for the evening meal. The men meanwhile enjoy an hour or so of strolling about carrying their youngest offspring or sitting around visiting with other men of the family or nearby neighbors.

Supper is the one meal of the day that is likely to consist of hot food, although even this meal is frequently luke-warm or cold by the time it is ready to eat. The Mokilese do not seem to be in the least concerned about having their food warm or freshly cooked. An exception to this occurs in the case of a person who is sick. If he feels like eating solid food, he frequently asks for and receives food hot from the um. I am not certain whether such food is considered more easily digested or whether it is simply regarded as being tastier than the usual cold food.

The evening meal usually consists of roasted taro root and fish caught the previous night or in the morning. These are the regular staple foods which are supplemented by a considerable variety of other foods at various seasons of the year (\*). Cooking bananas are frequently roasted in the um in their skins. They are also grated and made into puddings and "dumplings." During certain seasons of the year, breadfruit, the most highly prized vegetable food, is plentiful and various puddings made from it and other edibles are a regular part of the diet. Breadfruit is most plentiful during June and July although there is a minor secondary season in the fall and a few breadfruit ripen during most months of the year. Pandanus fruits ripen mostly in November and December and during that period form an important part of the diet. Arrow root is one of the minor foods which forms a part of many of the puddings.

In addition to fish; chickens, dogs, pigs, sea birds, turtles, porpoises, shell fish and crustaceans form part of the protein diet. All of these are cooked in the stone ovens and in most cases are under-done by our standards. This is especially true of the land animals. The pig is seldom eaten except as a ceremonial food. Few families have enough pigs to be able to taste pork more than once every month or two. Chickens are becoming more plentiful after having been exterminated several years ago by an epidemic. They are still not sufficiently plentiful to be eaten very regularly. Eggs form an inconsiderable part of the diet. Dogs are eaten occasionally though rather shamefacedly and privately, and some Mokilese say they do not eat them.



Sea birds are caught with bird lime made from breadfruit sap. They perch in tall trees and are stalked on moonlight nights with a long pole on the end of which is a gob of adhesive. They are not an important item of diet.

Turtles are captured mostly in the summer time. They were formerly very plentiful about Mokil but are rather scarce today. The Mokilese blame the scarcity on the increased efficiency of the turtle spearing due to the introduction by the Japanese of water goggles which enable the fisherman to see clearly under water. While this is undoubtedly a contributing factor, it is also certainly true that the rapid increase of population on Mokil has put a much heavier drain on all the sea food that lives on or near the reef.

Porpoises visit the water surrounding Mokil, mostly in the late fall or winter. The capture of a porpoise is a big event as the mammalian meat, although extremely fishy in flavor, is highly regarded as a delicacy. Swordfish also are captured occasionally during the winter months and are highly esteemed.

Shell fish, mostly small tridacna clams, are sporadically encountered on the reefs and coral heads. When a sizeable one is found, it is pried loose and made into a chowder. Coconut crabs are occasionally captured by work parties, but little effort is made especially to catch them. Expeditions go out at night with torches to spear the large crayfish which are fairly numerous and highly regarded as food.

After supper has been eaten, the families enjoy a pleasant social time during the evening. The children re-form their play groups to skylark about. Older people sit around and talk or perhaps play a few games of checkers on improvised boards or go to visit some neighbor and relative. Ten p.m. is the official curfew hour when the "policeman" blows a small siren. Since there are virtually no accurate time-pieces on Mokil, the hour of blowing curfew really varies considerably. The curfew is the signal for all children and especially adolescent and unmarried adults to return to their own homes. The blowing of the curfew siren was decided upon at a public meeting and is primarily an attempt to reduce the love-making activities of the older boys and girls. Shortly after the curfew has sounded, the policeman makes a quick round of the main part of the village and then returns to his own home for the night. Thus anyone who has an after curfew project or assignation, simply waits until the policeman has made his round before setting out.

### Economic Organization (\*)

The internal economy of Mokil, the exchange of goods and services, is based almost entirely on the cooperative exchange of work and gifts and hardly at all on prices and wages. "Big works", as previously indicated, are performed almost exclusively by various types of inter-paneyney work groups. If twenty men work one day for individual A helping to tie his canoe, he will owe a day's similar work to each of these men or their paneyneys, when they in turn build canoes.

One of the forms of cooperative labor exchange is the "company" which was developed, according to Mokilese informants, during Japanese times, apparently around the same time (1921) that a similar type of cooperative work group with the same name was developed in Ponape. The company is a formally organized group of men which may be as small as two men or may have fifteen to twenty members. The members of a company agree to work one or two days of each week every week until the whole group has worked an equal number of days (usually one or two) for each participant in the company. The members of a company will agree at the beginning of their temporary association on the type of work to be performed by the company. Thus if a company were organized to work on frame house construction, no member could ask the company to do heavy work for him, such as the construction of wharves, or the excavation of a new taro pit. On the other hand, if the company is organized to do heavy work such as this, or the sawing of lumber, a member could have the company do light work for him, but he would be regarded as foolish to make such an unequal work exchange.

So little wage work is performed on Mokil that it may be regarded as economically insignificant. The man with the largest land holdings has occasionally hired men to help him clear his land or gather copra. Even he, however, more commonly calls upon men related to him to make the copra in exchange for a share of the proceeds.

At present, the only source of money income which does not depend upon the natural resources of Mokil and the adjacent sea is wage work for the Navy Civil Government unit in Ponape. Twenty-five to thirty Mokil men are today employed in Ponape for periods of three to six months each. They are paid from fifty to sixty cents each per day but are not paid if for any reason they miss a day's work. A small fee for food and lodgings is charged by the Navy to those men who are unable to live with relatives or friends during their stay on Ponape. Many of the men who return from Ponape after working several months for the Navy have only a few dollars to show for their efforts.

A scale of prices has been established on Mokil for the sale of various native products, mostly food, by individuals. This scale is apparently derived from one which is actually in operation on Ponape where a money economy has attained much greater importance than it has on Mokil. Actually on Mokil very few of the items covered by the price structure are ever sold. Fish and taro, for example, both have "official" prices as do chickens and other produce. We found no instances, however, when any of these or many other native products were actually exchanged by the Mokilese for money. If a man butchers a pig and does not want to consume it all, he may sell some of the pork to his friends and neighbors. One man specializes to some extent in the production of molasses made from coconut sap which he also sells.

The major proportion of the exchange of goods is carried out through a complicated and largely informal system of gift giving and gift exchange. The informality and lack of anything approximating accounting is most pronounced in the exchange of food within a



paneyney and the use of equipment such as canoes and whaleboats. Although all of the coconut and taro land owned by a paneyney belongs to individuals, the whole paneyney has access to the produce from all the land. The produce of the coconut land, including other foods, pandanus fiber for weaving etc., appears to be freely gathered by all members of the paneyney as needed. Taro, on the other hand, can only be gathered by or with the express consent of the individual who owns a given plot. The head of the paneyney, however, exerts administrative authority over all the paneyney lands, regardless of individual ownership. He can order or forbid the gathering of products from specific areas of coconut land, and he also specifies from whose plot taro roots shall be gathered to provide the day's supply for the whole paneyney. If the paneyney head is a dominating sort of person, he can control completely the use of paneyney land and prevent the actual individual owners from having any say over the utilization of their land.

The two major sources of money income are copra cut from the paneyney lands and woven handicraft produced by the women also from paneyney resources. The whole paneyney cooperates in the production of copra. The money for the copra is paid to the head of the paneyney. In a few cases, the paneyney head keeps control of nearly all the cash. In such cases, he buys food and other supplies which he distributes among the constituent elementary families, although he may give each adult male a small amount of money for the purchase of cigarettes or other personal items. Public opinion holds, however, that proper action by the paneyney head is to distribute the money paid for the copra among the adult men of the paneyney. Most paneyney heads follow this procedure. The paneyney head is within his rights to keep the largest share of the money for himself and his family and to meet paneyney emergencies. Whether the other adult men of the paneyney are his sons or his younger brothers, their shares of the copra money appear to be based more on their age order rather than on the amounts of coconut land owned by themselves or their wives or the amount of work they do in the gathering of nuts and preparation of copra. The money earned by women from their production of handicraft is considered to belong to them. In practice, however, this money is frequently turned over to their husbands who ordinarily use it to purchase food and supplies for the family. But a husband may occasionally use it to purchase cigarettes or other items for his personal consumption or use.

The exchange of goods between paneyneys or between individuals belonging to different paneyneys occurs under a variety of circumstances. The simplest and most informal situation exists when a woman needs pandanus leaves for weaving but has none in the proper condition on land belonging to her paneyney. She may then go to a related paneyney and ask the privilege of gathering pandanus leaves from their land. Such a request will usually be granted if the donor paneyney has an adequate supply to meet its current needs. Similarly, one paneyney may ask another for bananas or other seasonal or sporadically ripening produce if they happen not to have any in edible condition but know that the other paneyney has an ample supply. These are thought of as free gifts although undoubtedly a rough quid pro quo is maintained. A paneyney which constantly requested such gifts and never reciprocated

would probably experience decreasing willingness of their paneyneys to share their produce. Generosity is a highly regarded quality in Mokil, however, and I found no instance of such a situation. The cultural value and prestige of taro is illustrated, incidentally, by the fact that whereas people feel perfectly free to request the gift of most other produce, no one ever asks for the gift of taro roots.

In recent decades, many new varieties of bananas, pandanus, taro and other foods have been introduced into Mokil by individuals returning from visits to other islands. When an introduced plant has multiplied or set seeds, it is permissible for individuals in other paneyneys to ask for slips or seeds. The man who has introduced the new plant will usually make such gifts freely and, in fact, enjoys the prestige accruing from the introduction and dissemination of the new variety.

On certain ceremonial occasions, particularly such events as the feast following a person's death and funeral, most of the paneyneys of the village contribute food for the feast. On these occasions taro, pigs, chickens and other scarce produce are donated as well as scarce processed foods from the outside world. (At funeral feasts the only proper foods are taro, pork and drinking coconuts, the legendary original foods of the founding fathers of Mokil.) Such donations of food are conceived as free gifts, but it is expected that closely related paneyneys will donate more than more distantly related ones. The paneyney whose rite de passage is being celebrated will feel ill used and be openly critical of closely related paneyneys who do not meet expectations in the matter of food gifts. At such feasts there is a definite element of competition among the contributing paneyneys as to who shall show the greatest generosity. A "big man" is one who, among other things, can afford to make generous contributions of food to community feasts.

There is also an element of competition in providing food to cooperative work groups. When a man has a canoe tying or a tree felling, for example, his women folk are busy for a day or two prior to the cooperative work, preparing large quantities of feast food. Much more food is cooked than the work party can consume during the day's work. At the end of the day it is divided and each man takes a share home. (At all feasts, the aim is to provide a great deal more food than the participants can eat and they are expected to take the surplus home.) Each paneyney when it entertains a work group attempts to match or outdo the other paneyneys in the amount and variety of food set before the work party. In this competition to provide feast food both for ceremonial feasts and for work parties, paneyneys sometimes drain their material resources very heavily in order to maintain family prestige. On one occasion during our field work, a man paid thirty dollars to purchase a pig so that he could give it for a ceremonial feast. The thirty dollars represented more than a month's cash income from all the paneyney copra land.

Such competition in the providing of food places a paneyney with little land in a very difficult situation. Over the long run, such a paneyney cannot avoid loss of prestige through its inability to provide as much food as its rivals. As will be shown in more detail in the discussion of land tenure, this prestige factor is one of the chief motivations for the several current bitter contests over the ownership of property. Some of the paneyneys on Mokil are sufficiently short of land that their very subsistence is threatened, but for most of them, the main pinch is the threatened loss of prestige through inability to donate adequate quantities of food to feasts. Only one man in Mokil clearly seemed to have adopted the Western ideal of hoarding his wealth. To the rest of the people, the primary function of wealth is still to achieve prestige by giving it away.

One man suffered a serious loss of prestige during our stay on Mokil when he managed, by trickery, to avoid providing a feast for a canoe tying party. This man had helped to tie the canoe of a number of men in other paneyneys. Gossips said he worked all around for the feast food he got thereby. When the time approached for the tying of his canoe, however, he chose a day which had been set aside for public work. All of the other able-bodied men of the village thus had prior engagements. The man in question paid a fine of fifty cents each for himself and his adult son so that they were excused from the public work and they proceeded to tie their canoe while the other men of the village performed tax work. This action caused a great deal of malicious gossip about the man who had flouted custom. The comments about him made it clear that in the minds of the Mokilese the men who assist another in a cooperative project such as a canoe tying gain more from receiving their share of the feast food than does the man who receives their day of work.

In addition to the types of food gifts already discussed, each paneyney and every adult individual within a paneyney has certain regular obligations to make gifts of food to other paneyneys and individuals. Some of these obligations are reciprocal but others are not. Mr. Bentzen obtained from the majority of adults on Mokil, lists of the people to whom they were obligated to make such gifts of food. The categories of the lists show a great deal of variation but in all cases include closely related individuals such as father, mother, brother, sister, adopted parents, adopted children, grandparents, spouse's parents etc. To such relatives, individuals make sporadic gifts of food, especially delicacies and special dishes or servings from the first picking of seasonal crops. The first fish caught from a new canoe are also quite generally distributed by the owner of the canoe to such relatives. Among some paneyneys, every catch of certain prized sea foods are likewise distributed among people to whom the fisherman has special obligations. The sea foods that are commonly so distributed include large turtles, swordfish, and porpoise. In some paneyneys it is the custom to make distribution of these sea foods only on the occasion when the first of each species is caught from a new canoe.



Thus the exchange of goods and services amongst the people of Mokil is carried out primarily by more or less reciprocal gift giving. In some areas of exchange, the conception of free gift operates, but the recipient is expected to give generously, though not necessarily in terms of precise equivalents, when he has a surplus of some desirable product. In other areas food is, in effect, exchanged for services, although here there is a definite commitment to a later reciprocal exchange. In still other areas, there are gift obligations based mainly on kinship, which may or may not be reciprocal.

In general, the exchange of goods on Mokil does not take the form of barter although there are some exceptional cases. Normally, a person gives with the expectation that at some later date he will receive a gift of roughly equivalent value. The Mokilese greatly like to feel they have other people more or less under obligation to them so that when they want a gift or desire to borrow tools or water craft, they can feel free to go to the person who is under obligation and ask for what they want. In all our relations with the Mokilese, we found that they preferred not to set up any fixed system of payment for goods or for either occasional or regular services. We were expected to fit into their system by accepting food (sometimes in vastly larger quantities than we could eat), and services without any immediate payment. The people with whom we were most closely associated, however, expected sizeable gifts from us at the termination of our stay and also felt entitled to ask us for cigarettes, soap, fish hooks, and food from our stores when they needed such items. My chief informant and interpreter very cleverly and amusingly arranged for us to provide a feast on his birthday from our stores. He originally asked us directly only for some rice, but as the occasion developed, it became clear to us that what he really wanted was a spread for himself and fifteen or twenty men, more or less closely related to him. Eventually, we provided the whole meal without his ever directly asking us to do so and without eliciting any signs of embarrassment or undue expressions of gratitude from our friend. By Mokil standards, he was perfectly within his rights in expecting us to make this small gesture of generosity in return for the vast amount of time and knowledge he had given us in the course of our research.

#### Political Organization (\*)

Since aboriginal times, the people of Mokil have had a high chief or "king". Evidence to be discussed in the next chapter indicates that before white contact, there were actually two chiefs, one a sacred chief or high priest and the other, a secular chief or political leader. I am of the opinion, as a matter of fact, that there were, before the prehistoric typhoon, two autonomous districts on Mokil, each with a dual chieftainship. These offices were coalesced about 150 years ago. The modern kings have been and are secular leaders.

The present "missionary", an elderly Mokil man who was trained as a native pastor in the early American mission school at Ponape, to some extent plays the role formerly played by the sacred chiefs. In many respects, however, the king has authority over the "missionary" even in matters of religious concern. This is doubtless a reversal of the aboriginal relationships between sacred and secular authority. The aboriginal situation has been reversed also by the fact that the modern line of secular kings is essentially a continuance of the aboriginal line of sacred chiefs, while the descendants of the former line of secular chiefs have no chiefly authority today.

Early in the twentieth century the German government, then in control of this part of Micronesia, established the office of "No. 2 king". Their intent was that the second king would be a vice-administrator who would serve during absences or incapacitation of the "No. 1 king". The current "No. 2 king", son of the originally appointed one, now lives in Ponape, the headquarters for the Navy Civil Government unit for the Eastern Carolines. He works there as an interpreter and "straw boss" for the Navy and also watches over the interests of Mokil people in Ponape.

On Mokil, the legislative functions are performed by public meetings of men which occur regularly once every month. At such meetings laws are passed concerning such matters as taxation, the control of domestic animals to prevent their becoming public nuisances, and game laws prohibiting certain types of fishing at seasons of the year when such methods might frighten large numbers of fish away from the vicinity of the island. All sorts of questions of public policy are also discussed and debated at these monthly meetings as well as a variety of disagreements and conflicts between individuals or paneyneys. At such public meetings, for example, the decision was reached a few years ago that no one would any longer be permitted to enlarge the main Karlap taro pit on the ocean side. This decision was reached after two or three individuals, in attempting such enlargements, had caused the seepage of salt water into the pit with the consequent destruction of the growing taro in that general vicinity of the pit.

The public meeting is also the sounding board for individuals or groups who have grievances. Land disputes between individuals or paneyneys, for example, are frequently aired by the protagonists at the public meetings. If one or both of a married couple want a divorce, the case must also be presented before a public meeting. As far as the Mokilese are concerned, a divorce becomes valid when both the husband and wife have stated in a public meeting that they are willing or anxious to be divorced and when the other participants in the meeting have acquiesced. Acquiescence of the participants at the meeting is not a cut and dried procedure. On the contrary, efforts are made to reconcile the couple and to instruct or admonish one or both as to proper behavior by which the marriage may be saved. Petitions for divorce are thus sometimes continued over a period of several months as the attempt is made by public pressure and counseling to effect a reconciliation. The Navy requires that a divorce decree be signed by the separating couple and also by the king and that such decrees be entered in official records. So far as the Mokilese are concerned, "the paper" is pure routine and the divorce is really granted or withheld by the public meeting.



Participation in the public meeting appears to be limited to adult men. Any individual is free to express his opinion on any question and debate often becomes quite heated. The opinions of certain individuals clearly carry more weight than those of others. In general, men who have "good heads" are listened to with respect and their opinions are given serious consideration. Other individuals who have a reputation of being flighty or selfishly biased are unlikely to be followed but are nevertheless heard, sometimes at great length. Having a reputation for a good head appears to be an amalgam of several dependently variable factors. One important consideration is whether or not the individual is head of a paneyney or at least a man of substance and economic independence. Men who are definitely dependents, disinherited or discredited members of their paneyneys or younger sons or brothers without authority, are men who usually do not have great influence at the public meetings. Most men of these categories do not even presume to make speeches before the meetings, but those who are impelled to, usually receive little notice and may even be brutally criticized by other men and told that they are merely "working men" and have no license to attempt to influence the opinions of others. Men who have the reputation for fairness and objectivity and for thinking in terms of the common interest also tend to have a reputation for good heads. Individuals whose constant goal is blatant self-interest will not have such reputations. The ability to analyse a problem or situation logically and to suggest judicious solutions likewise will be listened to with respect. Men who vacillate from one stand to another and tend to follow the lead of who ever has spoken last are not listened to seriously.

Interwoven with such considerations is the factor of factionalism which is very strong in Mokil. People feel bound to support close relatives and friends and to oppose people not closely related and especially to oppose men they consider to be rivals or antagonists in some dispute even though that dispute has no bearing on the situation currently under discussion. A particularly strong and persistent factional rift is that between the "have's" and "have-nots". The king and the heads of two or three wealthy and powerful paneyneys closely related to him by repeated intermarriages constitute the "have's". This group is regarded with great suspicion by a fluctuating alliance whose members suspect in various situations that the powerful clique is attempting to take advantage of them or to seize more power on new prerogatives. There is evidence, which will be discussed elsewhere in this report and in Mr. Bentzen's report, that the king's clique has taken advantage of individuals and the public at large on various occasions. For example, an administrative and public area has been developed by public work on Lot 23 B on Karlap. As part of their tax work, the men of the island have constructed here a large dock which is the official landing place for visitors. A flag pole has also been installed on this dock. Behind the dock is the combined school and one-room public meeting-house and also the office which is the headquarters of the island government. All of this construction was done by the community as tax work with the understanding that the land in question was to be "district land" or public property.

The land in question was brought to the king's paneyney as dowry by the wife of his eldest son. She, incidentally, is the daughter of Jouap, the richest man on the island, the king's closest collaborator and the most widely disliked and distrusted man on Mokil. The king and his eldest son now state that the land containing all these public improvements is still the property of their paneyney. The son says further that should he not succeed his father as king, these structures will not be available for public use.

The king as well as his wealthy associate each hold several pieces of land which other people claim. Some of these contested plots were inherited by each man from his father. In addition, each of the men has seized disputed land largely on the strength of his power within the community.

This pattern of utilizing power and prestige for selfish gain is evidently a long standing one on Mokil. As will be discussed at length in the next chapter, the early history of Mokil suggests that even before white contact, the man who was king gathered a powerful clique about himself and seized not only land but on occasion, the wives of other men.

But let us return to the discussion of the present political organization of Mokil. At the public meetings, the king is generally the introducer of topics of discussion and the proposer of new legislation. If a group wants a given problem or some new legislation discussed at a public meeting, they ordinarily approach the king ahead of time and ask him to introduce the matter. The king usually accedes to the request although he may modify the original proposal. If the king is definitely against the proposed topic, he will refuse to introduce it at the meeting. In that case, the proponents may or may not introduce the subject from the floor. They will do so if they feel strongly on the matter, especially if they believe their program will have considerable support outside the king's clique.

Knotty problems are frequently discussed for a couple of hours or more at a public meeting without any decision's being reached. When the king is convinced that no decision can be reached at the particular meeting, he will suggest tabling the question until the next meeting. During the interval between meetings, discussion of the problem will continue and various individuals and groups will campaign, actively attempting to gain converts to their view point. By the next meeting, or perhaps after discussion at several additional meetings, opinion will be solidified to the point where some definite action can be taken.

At Mokil public meetings, questions are not submitted to formal voting. The procedure is much less formalized and much more flexible. After a problem or proposed piece of legislation has been

introduced, the king will take the lead in stating his views on the subject. Anyone else at the meeting may also rise and state his attitude, whether it be for or against that presented by the king. Robertson's laws of order are unheard of, with the consequence that the meetings sometimes get a little out of hand and two or three men may rise simultaneously, each vociferously arguing his point of view. Sometimes several separate arguments between opponents or rivals will spring up in different parts of the meeting room. The king attempts to quiet all but one of the speakers with the promise that each will get his turn. Although the participants display no great respect for the authority of the chair, an orderly presentation is usually achieved for a time. But the subject of debate is a hot one, the multiple arguments spring up repeatedly in the course of the discussion.

After everyone who wishes to speak on the matter at hand has been heard, and after some individuals may have spoken two or three times, the king, as chairman, attempts to formulate a program of action which seems to him to meet the various points that have been raised. After he makes this statement, there is a further opportunity for discussion and debate. When all of those who spoke have again expressed their opinions of the king's proposal, he again attempts to restate the proposal in an effort to meet the further criticisms or suggestions that have been made in the second round of speech-making. The whole cycle is repeated as many times as is necessary to achieve a program to which no one, except only die-hards or selfish individuals whose opinions have little prestige, raises any further objections. The line of action which achieves this degree of agreement becomes the official legislative act of the public meeting without any formal balloting.

It is evident that in these public meetings, the king needs a great deal of skill to reach compromise proposals that will silence opposition. It is also to be noted that there usually are a few irreconcilables who continue to mutter against the final proposal. The king must be a good gauge of public opinion and of the prestige and strength of such individuals in order to make a decision as to whether a proposal has reached a form in which it can stand against the post-meeting criticism and griping of the irreconcilable element. Practically every decision of importance is followed by a flurry of such discontent and opposition. Cleverness and astuteness on the part of the king will minimize such dissention and give strength to the legislation of the public meetings. Ineptness in judging opposition as well as overly selfish motivation in terms of enhancement of the power and prestige of himself and his clique can defeat legislation even after it has been passed by a public meeting. The opposition may become sufficiently organized to reverse or modify the decision at a subsequent meeting. Or, in some cases, a piece of legislation may simply be ignored by the public including the very men who acquiesced in it at a meeting.



For example, shortly before we came to Mokil, a decision had been reached to exterminate all dogs on the island. This decision was reached because some dogs were vicious, most of them bothered people by their barking and fighting and they consumed quantities of food without rendering adequate service. (Dogs serve no useful purpose on Mokil except as food. Involved in the decision to exterminate the dogs was probably a sense of embarrassment that many people on Mokil do occasionally eat dog meat which is known to be contrary to American habits and, in Ponape, actively opposed by the Naval authorities.) In response to this decision, individual dogs were killed sporadically during our stay on the island and eaten, although rather surreptitiously. Several deadlines were set and passed when all dogs were to be killed under threat of fine for failure to carry out the law. Litters of puppies continued to be born and reared, however, by most families throughout our stay on Mokil. At the time we left, the dog population was at least as large as it had been when we arrived. References to the extermination law were becoming less frequent and all the evidence would seem to indicate that it will never be carried out.

The Ten Man Council. The system of high chiefs or kings and quite possibly the practice of dealing with public problems and private disputes at an informal public meeting of men are derived from aboriginal practices. A brand new political organization, however, was established in 1946. It is an elected ten-man council which serves for six months and is then replaced at another election (\*). This council was adopted by the Mokilese after their observation of the council of chiefs set up on Ponape by the Navy as a combination legislative body and channel through which Navy communications and orders would reach the populace. On Mokil the ten-man council has not yet achieved any solid recognition of its authority nor an official role in the political life of the community. During our stay there, it seemed to serve chiefly as a partial check on the king and his clique in their part-time efforts to reap personal advantage from their positions of prestige. In its struggle against the king for a portion of his power, the council on several occasions became the champion of the "have nots". This shifting and poorly organized group has a stronger voice than ever before because of the council's willingness to take up some of the grievances of the "have nots" against the king's clique and because of the individual prestige of the council members.

The Navy Penal Code. The Navy has promulgated a penal code in the Eastern Carolines which is based on the Napoleonic code. Several portions of this code are quite out of harmony with Mokil culture and are consequently ignored or modified by the Mokilese so as to make sense to them. Article VI, Section D, for instance, covers criminal libel and says, "Whoever shall unlawfully, wilfully and maliciously, speak, write, print, or in any other manner publish material which expose (sic) another human being to hatred, contempt, or ridicule, shall be guilty of criminal libel".



The code provides that upon conviction of this offense, a person may be fined as much as fifty dollars or jailed as much as six months or both. Inasmuch as a sizeable proportion of the interminable conversations among Mokilese consists of malicious gossip, it would be theoretically possible to keep everybody on the island in jail practically all the time.

The Navy criminal code also provides even stiffer fines and jail sentences for various sexual irregularities including abortion, adultery, and rape which do not fit native ideas of justice and are ignored. Abortion, for example, seems to be essentially a private matter for the woman concerned. Although children are highly valued on Mokil, there are times when a woman will attempt an abortion. For example, a wife who has become pregnant through adulterous relations while her husband is away from Mokil will sometimes attempt abortion to escape some portion of the husband's wrath. So far as I know, there is no thought of punishing such a woman by community action.

Adultery is frowned on by the community and particularly by the Christian Endeavor. The incidence of adulterous love affairs is, however, very high. When individuals are caught in the act or confess as a result of gossip about them, the guilty parties are ejected from Christian Endeavor and are likely, also, to be fined from \$2.00 to \$5.00.

Statutory rape in the Naval code is defined as having sexual relations with any girl less than fourteen years old and requires imprisonment upon conviction for any term up to fifty years. The Mokilese do not concern themselves about the calendar age of a girl who is ready and willing to engage in premarital love affairs. They would never prosecute the lover of such a girl for rape regardless of her age.

Other provisions of the Naval penal code could be cited for their inconsistency with Mokil customs. The code is also too detailed for Mokil comprehension, covering, as it does, many offenses against which regular controls are necessary in our complex urban civilization, but which are meaningless to the Mokilese. In general, the people of Mokil have selected from the criminal code for punishment, those offenses which were punished before the code was promulgated. The code has undoubtedly had the effect of strengthening the hands of the more ascetic church members in their still unsuccessful attempt to legislate irregular sexual practices out of existence. The stiffer attitudes toward such practices, however, seems not to have reduced the number of love affairs but rather to have given added zest to this form of amusement.

Judicial procedures. The judicial functions on Mokil are carried out primarily by the king although he secures the assistance of individuals of his choice in some situations, and other situations such as divorce actions sometimes come before a public meeting.

People accused of offenses against either those portions of the penal code which have the support of the Mokilese or the laws passed at the public meetings are brought before the king. Witnesses from both sides are heard. There appear to be no rules governing the admissibility of evidence. Hearsay evidence is heard by the king as well as eye-witness evidence. If the king believes the accused to be guilty, he fixes the punishment, usually a small fine. Many of the people on Mokil are unable to pay even a two or three-dollar cash fine, so all fines can be worked out at the rate of fifty cents per day spent in the "calaboose." When we first came to Mokil, the calaboose was the district office, and people serving time were required to sleep there every night until their fine had been worked off. Such "prisoners" went about their regular work at their homes or anywhere on the island during the day. Later in our stay, it was decided, by whom I do not know, that this method of jailing was a failure. It was decided that anyone with a jail sentence to serve would be sent to Ponape on the next station ship to serve his sentence in the proper jail there. One effect of this ruling, and perhaps the main reason for it, is that now people who are fined a few dollars will try hard to raise the money rather than to go to Ponape, possibly for two months or more between station ships in order to serve a few days in jail.

The fines provided by the Naval penal code have been scaled down on Mokil, with the approval of the Native Affairs Officer, to a small fraction of the fines provided for in the code. The king, however, has discretion in most cases of fining individuals he feels to be guilty anywhere from two dollars to fifty dollars. The king is accused, by some of the "have nots", of assigning small fines to people in his clique and large fines for the same offenses against people outside the clique. There is no appeal from the king's sentences except to the Native Affairs Officer who almost invariably supports the king.

There follows a sample list of some of the cases that came before the king in 1946-47:

Harry. Attempting to persuade a married woman to have sexual relations with him in the absence of her husband. She ran away, reported the incident to her husband who complained to the king. Harry was fined \$1.50 and warned that for the next offense, he would be fined \$10.00.

Jinio, fighting, for reasons the king claims he does not know. Jinio attacked Lanka, while the latter slept, and "broke his head." Fine, \$10.00.

Apijai. Fight with Simet. While working together, the two got into an argument and Apijai hit Simet on the head with his shovel. Fine \$10.00.

Waliter. Adultery with married woman. Fine \$10.00 each.

Jojep. Attempting sex relations with a married woman against her will. Caught in the act. Fine \$2.50.

Eperim and Elena. The former entered the latter's house one night after everyone was asleep to attempt sex relations. The woman refused him. The two argued until they awoke the men of the family who caught him. In court, she claimed he was annoying her. He claimed she had invited him. Fine, \$1.50 each.

Harry. Convicted of precipitating a vociferous argument by two families over a disputed piece of land. Harry, who had no stake in the argument, accused of telling the head of one family that the head of the second family had stated that he was going to keep the piece of land in dispute. The head of the second family said in court that Harry had garbled his statement and precipitated a needless argument. Fine, \$2.00.

Anako, for "stealing" a man, Ijau. Originally both the man and woman were fined ten dollars but the woman's husband complained, threatening to fight Ijau unless the latter paid the bigger fine. Result, Ijau fined \$15.00 and Anako fined \$5.00. Well, intermediary sent by Anako to Ijau, fined \$2.00.

Topiaj and Nell. Caught in a premarital love affair. Fined \$2.00 each.

Ijau, Kusitape and Rabbis. For going into a house late at night when everyone was asleep, presumably to "steal" a woman. Jailed three days each in the calaboose.

Tora. For taking a bunch of bananas without permission from a tree belonging to another family. Tora came to the king and confessed, claiming she had thought the tree belonged to her father. The king concluded that she was lying about the innocence of her intent. Fine \$5.00.

Miniter and Waliter. For making a baby out of wedlock. Fine \$2.00 each. (According to a recently passed law on Mokil, the father of an illegitimate child must also take the baby regardless of his wishes or those of the mother. The reason for this law is that a man owning land or with the prospect of ownership can provide for the baby better than the woman could.)

Lanka. For beating his father-in-law severely with a stick in an effort to force the return of his wife who had gone back to her parents after a squabble with Lanka. Lanka had previously committed the serious offense of beating his own father. On that occasion, he was not fined, but was warned by the king that if he ever struck an old man again, he would be severely punished. Fine \$50.00.



Jinio for beating his wife and her mother. Jinio was tending the baby and asked his wife to take it. She said she was busy and that he should hold it a while longer. So Jinio beat her and his mother-in-law as well when she attempted to interfere. Fine \$3.00.

Ana. Disturbing the peace and resisting an officer. Originally Ana fought with her husband Jaulik over the question of who would hold the baby. (Jaulik is one of the men who has little land of his own but who married a woman with considerable land, a reversal of the usual economic roles of the sexes. Ana, in addition, is physically stronger than her husband. On numerous occasions in the past, she has beaten Jaulik who has no recourse but to leave the home and camp out until Ana decides to take him back. Ana has a great reputation as a belligerent trouble-maker.) On this occasion Ana attacked her husband with a stick. When the noise attracted the "No. 1" policeman, he attempted to stop the fight but Ana called him obscene names and chased him away. The policeman reported to the king but refused to return and attempt to arrest Ana. The second policeman, a very young man attempted to carry out the king's order to arrest Ana. She, however, by this time in a fine rage, took the policeman's clothes off and chased him away in his turn. The king then sent a very strong man who succeeded in seizing her and taking her before the king. Fine \$30.00.

Simet, Willem and Imerol. (all 14 or 15 years of age) Stealing a pandanus fruit from the land of Mokil's richest man on one of the secondary islands. The fruit was missed when the owner sent his son to fetch it. The owner learned that the three boys had been on the island and asked them about the missing fruit, promising not to prosecute them if they confessed. They denied the theft, however, so the owner reported the incident to the policeman. One of the boys confessed. Fine \$1.50 each.

Lorenj, for causing the pregnancy of Loi. (Both unmarried.) Fine \$2.00 each. Loi was engaged to a young man who was working at the time in Ponape. When her pregnancy was discovered, her father took her to the king to whom she confessed that Lorenj was the prospective father. The king, thereupon, called the youth before him and Lorenj readily agreed to marry Loi. In spite of the fact that the two did marry, they were nevertheless fined.

Land disputes between paneyneys are usually taken before the public meeting rather than before the king alone. If the dispute concerns a whole piece of property and is based on conflicting kinship claims, several generations old, an attempt is made at the public meeting to secure a compromise settlement. If that fails, the case is referred to the Naval Civil Affairs Government Unit in Ponape. (Up to the time we left Mokil, the Naval authorities had not been adjudicating such cases on the grounds that decisions should be made by the Civil Government which will presumably be established in the near future to replace the Naval Government.)



Sometimes the land dispute involves the accusation that one individual is guilty of "pushing". Pushing involves the attempt by one land owner to take land surreptitiously from a neighbor by planting coconut trees on the neighbor's land (\*). In such cases, a committee is appointed consisting of men who know the land boundaries in the particular part of the island where the disputed land lies. They visit the area and attempt to decide which of the two men is right and which is in the wrong or attempting to steal his neighbor's land. If they are sure in their minds of the merits of the case, they render a decision for the man they believe to be right. If they cannot determine who is in the right, they establish a compromise boundary line and both men are instructed to observe it.

Sometimes, in disputes over boundaries, one or both of the disputants will ask the committee to withdraw before it makes a decision so that the two men can work out a solution for themselves. The king and the public prefer this method as it results in voluntary agreement between the two contestants who may be expected to honor their own decision more readily than they will an arbitrary one reached by the committee which represents the public. In such cases, the two contestants sometimes reach a compromise agreement if the case is one in which each honestly feels he is right. If, however, one of the two is conscious that he has pushed and that the other man has caught him in the act, he will frequently withdraw his claim entirely rather than suffer the humiliation of having the committee make an award entirely favoring his opponent.

Land disputes come before the public meeting only if one or both of the disputants voluntarily present the case. There are several rankling disagreements which have not been brought before the public body, at least not recently. Such disputes and, for that matter most cases of conflicting hereditary claims, tend to persist indefinitely. There is no mechanism on Mokil for settling such disputes once and for all. A strong man may seize a disputed piece of property and hold it even in the face of diffuse adverse public opinion. The weaker party will cherish its claim through several generations if necessary. At some time in the future, the power situation may be reversed and the land will change hands again. The former holders will then nurse their grudge and keep alive their claim in the hopes that a future opportunity may present itself to seize the land back again.

#### Politics in the Community Store (\*)

During the war most of the manufactured items upon which the Mokilese have become dependent were unavailable. They missed such processed foods as rice, flour, sugar, and canned goods but had an ample supply of native foods to maintain health. Kerosene for lamps and torches used at night for home illumination was also unobtainable but local substitutes were available for this substance. The lack of fresh supplies of cloth was more serious. The art of making sails

from pandanus leaf matting was revived as the canoe sails wore out and supplies of sail cloth were exhausted. Clothing was a more serious problem because the Mokilese had long since forgotten the aboriginal art of weaving cloth from the fibers of banana leaves. Although the Mokilese dress very simply when working, they feel that it is essential for women to wear dresses and for men to wear trousers at least when going to church or when participating in ceremonial occasions. Consequently, as their clothing wore out during the war, attendance at such functions was reduced because many people literally did not have any clothes to wear. The shortage of fishing gear such as hooks, gut and steel leaders and cotton line was also felt severely. Most galling of all the shortages probably, to the many smokers, was the complete absence of tobacco and cigarettes for a period of several years.

The Mokilese were, in consequence of these many deprivations during the war, overjoyed when a Naval vessel, the U.S.S. Orca, visited the island in September 1946 to announce the establishment of United States military government authority over Mokil and to leave a quantity of supplies. These supplies were left with the understanding that another ship would appear in the near future to pick up copra in payment for the supplies and to bring additional supplies for further trading. The invoice left by the Orca covering the goods delivered was signed by the king's closest associate, Jouab, the richest man on the island who had had previous experience as a trader. These supplies were divided among the people by the king and Jouab.

When no ship appeared for another couple of months, a crew of Mokilese men sailed one of the locally made whale boats to Ponape to find out what was happening. They found that the Navy was unable to send a ship to Mokil. Arrangements were made by the Mokilese, therefore, to send one of the "pom-poms" (unseaworthy motor launches acquired by the Ponapeans during Japanese times for transportation inside the reef around Ponape) to Mokil to pick up the load of copra which, by this time, was beginning to spoil.

When the pom-pom arrived at Mokil, it was loaded hurriedly, under the direction of Jouab and the king, with the copra that was ready for shipment. Some people who had obtained a large share of goods brought by the Orca had very little copra while other people who had not received much of the merchandise had a lot of copra ready for shipment. Jouab assured everyone that adjustments would be made later to rectify such discrepancies.

According to Navy records, this entire load of copra was credited at the going rate. The invoice covering the Orca delivery was receipted and \$24.53 were paid to Jouab in cash for the surplus value of the pom-pom load of copra. This was done as a good-will gesture in spite of the fact that much of the copra was ruined by salt water spray on

the trip to Ponape. Jouab told the Mokil people, however, that no payment was made for the spoiled copra and that there was no surplus in cash. Moreover, he has never made the promised adjustment to those families who supplied copra far in excess of their receipts of merchandise from the Orca.

This situation injected an element of local politics in the trade between the United States Commercial Company and Mokil which persisted throughout our stay on Mokil. Jouab, who is now one of the two official secretaries of Mokil, and as such is chief keeper of books and records for the community, has a reputation among the majority of Mokilese as an extremely selfish man who does not hesitate to take advantage of his fellows for his own profit. He, his father, and particularly his grandfather before him are all alleged to have engaged in many sharp trading practices and to have cheated their fellow islanders for profit. The grandfather, as a matter of fact, served many years on a prison island on the Mortlocks during the German regime after being convicted of excess profiteering on the island of Pingelap after the disastrous typhoon of 1905. Jouab, himself, has a background of chicanery and sharp practice which, combined with his position of power as the island's richest man and the king's closest associate, makes him an object of suspicion, fear, and distrust to most of the Mokilese.

The first actual Navy station ship contact with Mokil came in mid-January of 1947. A store was set up on Mokil as a branch of the United States Commercial Company and stocked with a limited amount of merchandise on credit. A man named Apajai was installed as store keeper. He is Jouab's brother by adoption and had been tutored in sharp trading practices by Jouab's grandfather and a large land holder on Ponape who runs "company stores", where his fellow native employees are reputedly grossly overcharged for things they purchase. Many people opposed the appointment of Apajai as store keeper, but he had enough friends in addition to the king's clique so that he received the salaried appointment.

For the next nine months the United States Commercial Company made irregular deliveries of merchandise to Mokil when the Navy station ship made its rounds. Copra and handi-craft were purchased by the United States Commercial Company and paid for in cash as separate transactions from the delivery of merchandise to the branch store. The arrangement regarding the store was that merchandise delivered to it was to be sold at a ten per cent mark-up. This mark-up was supposed to pay the store keeper's salary, cover shrinkage and inventory losses of the store and provide a profit to be used by the community as public funds. According to Apajai and Jouab, no profits were made during the nine months Apajai was store keeper. The latter claimed, as a matter of fact, that he had drawn only one or two months' salary during this period. The allegation of these two, supported by the king, may have been true, inasmuch as no accounting system was set up and the equipment for weighing and measuring merchandise on Mokil is so primitive that more than ten per cent loss of many items might well be expected. During this period, as a matter of fact, the records of the U.S.C.C. in Ponape were very inadequately preserved and the enterprise was poorly managed by the American men who were in charge of it.



Regardless of these considerations, the Mokilese grew increasingly suspicious that Apajai, Jouab, and the king were pocketing the profits from the store instead of accounting for them and distributing them to the public. The ease with which this could have been done is indicated, perhaps, by the fact that most Mokilese do not understand the concept of profit, have no idea of what ten per cent means, and have even less notion, if possible, of accounting procedures. I was unable to determine whether Apajai was actually stealing money from the store or whether he simply did not know how to run the enterprise or keep records and hence actually did lose the \$800 or \$900 profit that should have been realized during his tenure. I am inclined to think he pocketed some money because when the store keeping job was taken from him in response to popular protest, he appeared several times with additional funds after his original accounting of the store's funds proved to be far short of the amount it should have been. After I left Mokil, events occurred at a public meeting witnessed by Mr. Bentzen which increase my suspicion that Apajai, Jouab, and perhaps the king conspired to operate the store as a private enterprise and to keep the profits (\*).

In September 1947, the U.S.C.C. announced that the store would have to be reorganized immediately as a community-operated enterprise, not a branch of the U.S.C.C. itself. It was also announced that all debts would have to be paid immediately and that all future merchandise delivered on Mokil would have to be paid for in cash. These announcements brought to a head the discontent with Apajai's administration of the store and caused him to be publicly fired with accusations ranging from incompetence to outright thievery. The pronouncement also required that the community raise \$1500 by individual subscriptions in order to finance the continued operation of the store. Pathetically untutored and ineffectual efforts were made to insure the honest and business-like operation of the store. A young man of good repute but still on the periphery of the king's clique was chosen as store keeper. The opponents of this clique had as their nominee one of the few young men on the island whom they felt could stand against the king and Jouab and run the store independently of them, but they were unable to engineer his appointment.

The necessity to raise the large sum of \$1500 made it necessary for the Mokilese to cut more than the normal yield of copra and hence reduced the amounts that could be cut during the succeeding few months. This in turn reduced the buying capacity of the island so that just at the period when items most wanted by the Mokilese began to be available for the first time since the war, they were unable to purchase some of them.

With the reorganization of the store, too, its operation became inextricably involved with the political factionalism on Mokil. Jouab maintained that, as secretary, it was his responsibility to keep accounts and also to hold the bulk of the store's money take in his own possession. Whenever the station ship made a fresh delivery of merchandise, the king, Jouab, and the others of their clique took over the distribution of the scarce items which were sold out



immediately. Thus the new store-keeper was unable to operate the store systematically.

The ten-man council attempted to oppose the continuing domination of the store by this clique. They tried unsuccessfully during my stay on the island to take over the supervision of the store's accounting and also the cash to which Jouab clung grimly. It was finally decided that in order to protect the store's profits, the "ten per cent" would be kept separately under the control of the ten-man council. We attempted many times to explain to various individuals and groups that merely segregating the store's funds in two parts would not insure the operation against loss. We tried to help the store establish some simplified accounting system which would enable community representatives to maintain a constant inventory<sup>and</sup> to check receipts at frequent intervals to catch errors or leaks. The Mokilese conception of the profit system is so rudimentary, however, that, during my stay, no one ever seemed to see the logic and necessity of giving the storekeeper complete control over the merchandise and making him personally responsible for the sale of goods and the keeping of records. Neither were the Mokilese ever convinced that merely isolating ten per cent of the cash would not protect the store's funds. They also found completely incomprehensible the idea that if they would re-invest the ten per cent profit over a period of a year or two they could double the store's capitalization and be able either to purchase twice as much goods from the U.S.C.C. or pay back the subscribers who had raised the \$1500 to finance the store. I feel it is safe to predict that unless a store-keeper can be found who is trusted by all elements in the community, who can be trained to do a business-like job, and who has sufficient prestige and spunk to insist upon handling the sales of all merchandise personally, the store will be a failure and the Mokil people will lose the money they have invested.

### Religion and Church Activities

Mokil was Christianized in the 1860's under conditions which will be described in the next chapter. The missionizing agency was the Honolulu branch of the Boston Mission Society (Congregational). No other denomination has ever proselyted on Mokil. The Mokilese know about the Catholic faith which has had a mission on Ponape since Spanish times. They do not, however, seem to be aware that there are a great many Protestant denominations. All people on the island today are Christians and there seems to be little memory of the aboriginal religious beliefs and practices.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> We did not conduct any systematic inquiries directed toward a reconstruction of aboriginal religious beliefs and practices.

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Church services are conducted by a young man who was trained in the mission school at Ponape. He is not an ordained minister. The father of this man, now somewhat senile, was the minister for forty or more years and is still recognized by the Mokilese as the head of their church. As such, he makes short addresses on most ceremonial occasions and likewise acts as arbiter on many questions of church policy.

There is at least one church service every morning of the week. There is an additional service for the church goes on Wednesday afternoon and also on Sunday afternoon. There are still further services, one on Wednesday and two on Sunday, for the members of the Christian Endeavor. This latter group has numerous additional functions for its members. Church services on Mokil differ considerably from those of the Congregational Church in the United States. Men and women sit separately on opposite sides of the center aisle, men on the right as they face the pulpit. The higher one's prestige in church circles, the nearer one sits to the pulpit. Services are commenced by the singing of two or three hymns. The hymns as well as the New Testament have been translated into the Ponapean language which differs only dialectically from Mokilese and is intelligible to all Mokil people. The group singing is commonly followed by a very brief sermon from the minister after which various individuals in the congregation rise in their places or kneel to read short passages from the Bible or to offer prayers of their own composition. Most of the Bible reading is done in Ponapean although some individuals demonstrate their virtuosity by attempting to read from an English Bible. The men of high prestige down front begin the individual contributions which are added to by the men farther and farther back. After the last of the men has spoken his piece, the women repeat the same procedure, beginning at the front and finishing at the rear of the church. Not everyone, nor even a majority of the congregation gives such individual readings. So far as I could determine the preparation of such contributions was a matter of individual choice.

The congregation as a whole sings two or three hymns after the recitations are finished. This group singing is sometimes followed by team singing. A small chorus of three to ten individuals gather in the center aisle near the front of the church to sing a hymn or two they have practiced as a team. These choruses may be composed entirely of men, entirely of women, or mixed. Sometimes several such teams each sing a hymn and then retire to their seats while another small group forms and sings its offering. After the singing there may be a few announcements followed by a brief benediction which closes the service. No collection is taken in the church. People do make regular monthly contributions of money to the church but these contributions are made outside the church.

The Christian ideology on Mokil is of a type which is to be found, in the United States today, only in the more ascetic sects. It frowns upon dancing, card playing, smoking, the use of alcohol and also attempts, unsuccessfully, to eliminate irregular sexual activities among the people. The Bible stories and Christian mythology are very imperfectly understood even though they are in part available in Ponapean. Many of the concepts and situations described in the Bible

are entirely outside the experiences of the Mokilese. They have never had adequately trained religious leaders, nor the general indoctrination in the history of Western Civilization which would make some of the Biblical literature comprehensible. At the time Mokil was Christianized, the theology of the missionaries was clearly of the fire and brimstone type and the restrictions on individual behavior were strictly Calvinistic. Since this original Christian indoctrination of Mokil, the island has been isolated from the general liberalizing movement within Protestantism.

The strictest limitations on personal behavior are required of those individuals who join the Christian Endeavor (\*). This organization is especially strict in its stand against smoking, dancing, drinking and irregular sex behavior. Some members of Christian Endeavor observe all of these prohibitions with great constancy. A great many members of this organization, however, smoke surreptitiously and most, if not all members, are at least occasionally involved in illicit sexual activities. When such transgressors are discovered, they are punished by Christian Endeavor. This punishment may involve suspension of membership for a month or more, reduction in rank within the organization or complete expulsion from it.

According to Mokil informants, the Christian Endeavor movement was organized on Mokil about 1912 by a lay individual who observed the movement on the island of Pingelap during a visit there. Today the Christian Endeavor on Mokil is the only formal non-political, non-economic organization to which an individual can belong except for the church itself. Its members consider themselves to be the elite of the saved and most of the islanders accord them high prestige. The complex hierarchy of ranks and offices, for which a member of Christian Endeavor may strive, offers the chief and almost the only route for personal upward mobility on Mokil. Because of this fact and because of the sanctions of demotion or expulsion which operate among the members of Christian Endeavor, this organization exerts a strong social control over its members. It does not by any means succeed in preventing the transgressions it penalizes, but it probably does considerably reduce their numbers. It also, of course, adds greatly to the hypocrisy of life as well as the guilt feelings of the considerable numbers of members who do transgress its rules in secret.

The power of the Christian Endeavor and of the repressive Christian ideology which permeates Mokil were constantly shown in a number of ways during our stay on the island. The most dramatic instance occurred in connection with our attempts to encourage a revival of aboriginal forms of dancing. We discovered that several of the middle-aged and old men still remembered the dances although none of them had been performed during the past forty years. We were interested in witnessing such dances and recording them by motion pictures. We therefore exerted ourselves to encourage the revival. The people to whom we talked about this project were hesitant and non-committal for several weeks. Some of our informants



finally told us that the Christian Endeavor was opposed to the revival. After some political maneuvering on our part, the Christian Endeavor agreed to permit the young men to practice and demonstrate a couple of dances. Our prestige as white men undoubtedly had a good deal to do with obtaining the organization's grudging consent.

There followed a period of several weeks during which the young men received instruction in the dance almost every evening. It was obvious that they very much enjoyed this break in the monotony of their lives. The pillars of the Christian Endeavor, however, stayed strictly away from the practice sessions and continued to fulminate against the activity. After the dancers had practiced sufficiently, and were ready to give the public performance, the Christian Endeavor almost prevented the event. The dances were performed, however, and our motion picture records obtained while the dancers and a large crowd of spectators had a very enjoyable time.

We hoped that the revival would become a permanent feature of Mokil life and that additional native dances would be revived. We pointed out that visiting American officials whom the Mokilese are very anxious to please and entertain hospitably would be delighted to witness this native art form. Shortly after the single performance of the dance was given, however, the Christian Endeavor led by the native preacher ordained that aboriginal dances could not be performed again by any member of Christian Endeavor. This edict clearly meant the end of native dancing on Mokil because even the people who are not members of Christian Endeavor will not violate this injunction.



## Chapter II

### History of Acculturative Influences

#### Period Prior to White Contact

Mokil history begins with a ferocious typhoon that destroyed virtually all the coconut trees and other food plants on the island. The famine that ensued wiped out a large portion of the pre-typhoon population. Twenty-five to thirty people at most survived this catastrophe. They consisted of three men, their wives and children and a few immature survivors of other pre-typhoon families. The present population of the island counts its descent from these three families plus the occasional individuals who married into Mokil from outside in later years. I am quite sure the typhoon did occur and that it can be dated with a high degree of probability as having occurred between 1770 and 1780. I reached this date tentatively from genealogical considerations while I was still on Mokil. Since I left Mokil I have found confirmation of the date in the literature. A. G. Findlay<sup>1</sup> quotes

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L.A. Directory for the Navigation of the North Pacific Ocean,  
Third Edition, London, 1886,

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from an article by the Reverend L. H. Gulick which appeared in the American Journal of Science, circa 1855. Gulick who served as a missionary in Ponape in the early 1850's reported a terrific typhoon which devastated both Ponape and Kusaie during the childhood of the then oldest inhabitants of these two islands. This is undoubtedly the same prehistoric typhoon which wrecked both Mokil and Pingelap. All of these islands lie in a straight line and apparently the "eye" of this typhoon swept right down the line. Assuming that in Mr. Gulick's day the oldest inhabitants of the Eastern Carolines were in their late eighties, an age attained by numbers of individuals today, the storm to which he refers must have occurred at least seventy-five or eighty years before 1855. This would give a date of 1775 to 1780 for this prehistoric typhoon, a perfect correlation with the estimates I reached independently on Mokil.

According to Mokil legends, the prehistoric typhoon was caused by the son of the pre-typhoon "king". The legend states that the "king", Lakayd\*k, refused to give magical aid to his son's wife when the latter was in difficult childbirth. The woman and her child died and the king's son, Lashabo, had himself buried alive with his wife's body

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<sup>2</sup> From other accounts it seems evident that before Christian influences, the bodies of the dead were eviscerated and preserved, not buried.

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his skin was as light as a white man's. Lashabo waded into the shallow water on the lagoon side of Manton where the burial had occurred, shouted curses at his father and proclaimed that he would bring catastrophe on Mokil by magical means in order to avenge his wife's death. Lashabo then went to Urak where he made friends with the enemies of Lakayd\*k.<sup>1</sup> Three days later the devastating typhoon hit

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1. From aboriginal days until the present time, there has been a geographic division of Mokil which formerly was a basis for warfare and today is a basis for less dangerous competition and rivalries. The Northwest third of Karlap and the islet of Manton forms one of these geographic units (named Payti) while the rest of Karlap and Urak forms the other (called Patak). King Lakayd\*k resided in the northwest section of Karlap and was the enemy of all people living on the rest of Karlap and on Urak.

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Mokil and destroyed all coconut trees except for one on Urak and one on Karlap. The other food crops were reportedly as severely damaged. Lashabo and his new allies permitted Lakayd\*k to starve to death and established a new regime on Mokil.

Lashabo took over his deceased father's role as "king." His chief henchman was Okatau, whom today's Mokil informants describe as Lashabo's "chief officer" or "general". These two men, plus a third, Mwenshonit, were the progenitors of the present population of Mokil. There was a fourth adult male survivor of the typhoon named Lawatakn, but he died, apparently of natural causes, shortly after the typhoon and left no descendants. The genealogical chart suggests that Lashabo was probably about a generation older than his two followers. Although native informants deny this age differential, they do say that within a few years after the typhoon Lashabo became too old to serve as king and passed the reign on to his only son, Washetip. Okatau and Mwenshonit continued active, however, all through the reign of Washetip.

#### Aboriginal Social Organization.

Only fragments of the pre-typhoon culture of Mokil are remembered by today's informants. The wholesale deaths that followed the typhoon probably included all of the "wise" old men and women who were almost certainly then, as today, the chief repositories for legends and history of the past. Bitter feuding, which led to the assassination of several kings, began apparently a few years after the typhoon and continued intermittently until the island was Christianized in the 1860's. This fighting, which will be described below, suggests a breakdown of political control and other aspects of the social organization, and undoubtedly contributed to cultural impoverishment. The contact with whalers, beginning about 1840, and the copra trade which began around 1875, led to further changes in both social organization and technology, a process of culture change which is still going on. Partly because the old ways of life are remembered only imperfectly by present Mokilese and also because our own interest lay primarily in more recent verifiable history and in the functional analysis of the

present day economy, we did not attempt to gather an exhaustive record of present day recollections of the old culture. The following account of aboriginal culture is therefore very fragmentary.

Chiefs and Titles. Prior to the prehistoric typhoon there were two chiefly titles on Mokil: Nanau and Lepenkatam. From the fragmentary descriptions I was able to obtain of the functions of these two chiefs, it seems evident that the Nanau was a sacred chief while the Lepenkatam was a secular chief inferior in status to the Nanau, but nevertheless endowed with considerable political power and authority. These two offices were apparently analogous to, and probably historically derived from the same source as, the Namarki and Nanishen of Ponape and possibly also the Tui Tonga and Tui Kanakapoli of the Tongan islands.

Food production was apparently communal in pre-typhoon days; present informants say all food was brought to the Nanau to be blessed, and that it then was divided among the people by the Lepenkatam. Hambruch refers to the Nanau as a priest who:

"....was called into consultation in special cases; if, for example, a person were missing, he would advise as to whether he would return, or whether he had died in a foreign land."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Eilers, Anneliese, Inseln um Ponape, Ergebnisse der Sudsee-Expedition 1908-1910. G. Thilenius, editor. Hamburg, 1932.

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The most reliable present informant believes that these two titles were hereditary in family lines, and assumes they passed from father to son. This opinion is questionable, however, inasmuch as there is some possibility that descent of both privileges and property in Mokil may formerly have been matrilineal.

Okatau was the last Lepenkatam and it is to this function that present day informants refer when they speak of him as a general or chief officer. According to present informants the fighting which broke out after the death of Lashabo and his son, Washetip, caused the discontinuance of the office of Lepenkatam. This break with the cultural past definitely occurred before the first white contact, and is apparently to be accounted for by the cultural disorganization resulting from the pre-historic typhoon.

There is still a definite trace of feeling about these former offices, however. It shows primarily in the fact that no man from the Okatau line has ever been "king". All the kings have come from the patrilineal descendants of either Lashabo or Mwanahonit except for Isaac who reigned briefly in the 1860's. He was a patrilineal descendant of Okatau, but had been adopted by one of Lashabo's grandsons, and was therefore considered to belong to the line of adoption. This situation will be discussed more fully in the section on the succession of kings.



First Fruit Ceremonies. In aboriginal times the Mokilese practiced first fruit ceremonies for at least some of their cultivated crops as well as certain fishes. These ceremonies were called "nobwe". Present informants say such ceremonies were performed for breadfruit, taro, banana, new but not old varieties of pandanus and some fish, including bonito and an unidentified species whose native name is "keb\*ni". No details of the ceremony could be obtained except that the first of the crop was taken to the Nanau who took some for himself and caused the Lopenkat\*ni to divide the rest among the people. The Nanau then gave instructions that thereafter for the duration of the particular crop or fishing season the produce need not be brought to him again. Evidently part of this ceremony consisted of competitive display on the part of the various extended families or "paneyneys". Each family would place its food in a separate pile, and the Nanau would inspect the various piles and pronounce words of praise over the unusually large or fine ones.

The first fruits ceremony for the fish "keb\*ni" was, in fact, the climax of a competitive fishing bae. The season for this fish is summer, and the contest and first fruits ceremony for the fish coincided, apparently, with the first fruits ceremony for breadfruit which, on Mokil, has its main ripening season in June and July. On the appointed day large numbers of men would spend all day fishing for keb\*ni on the reef, and then would all come in together in their canoes to where the populace awaited the outcome of the contest. The man who caught the most was accorded great prestige for his feat. Any man unfortunate enough not to have caught any keb\*ni was ridiculed and felt very ashamed. The name of this competitive fishing ceremony was intinik\*ni. The night before an intinik\*ni no man could sleep with his wife but had to go and sleep in a separate house. Any man who failed to catch keb\*ni in the contest was accused of breaking this rule and was "very ashamed".

Apparently, in ancient times, the beginning of the seedless breadfruit season marked the beginning of an important cycle of ceremonies of a combined competitive and first fruits character. The keb\*ni contest occurred the day after the Nobwe or first fruits ceremony for the breadfruit, and while the men were catching the fish the women were cooking the season's first breadfruit. That night the fish and breadfruit would be eaten together at a ceremonial feast. During the following week the women made fermented breadfruit in pits (mar). At the end of the week, when it was ready to eat, all the men stayed home and cooked it in the ums while the women engaged in a day-long fishing contest paralleling the one the men had held a week earlier. The fish women caught in competition is a small reef species called "with\*r". It is caught by wading in shoulder deep water around the reefs, using a short pole and line with a baited hook. The women's fishing contest, like the men's, required sexual celibacy the preceding night. The outcome of the contest, likewise, was praise and prestige for the successful fishers, and ridicule and shame for the unsuccessful ones. Again there was a feast at night, this time composed of mar and with\*r.



Abbreviated first fruit ceremonies are still held today when people bring the first of a season's crop to Lepen, the preacher emeritus, to be blessed. What little is left of the old functions of the sacred chief, then, are now performed by the ministerial patriarch. The descendant of the sacred chiefs is now the secular king. No special functions at all are left to the descendants of Okatau, except the negative one of exclusion from the kingship.

Competition and District Rivalry. A high degree of competitiveness has apparently always characterized Mokil culture. The competitive fishing expeditions mentioned in connection with the first fruits ceremonies are examples. There still exist today another competition handed down from aboriginal times which consists of a race to grow a variety of taro called shawa. This competition is called takonong. On an appointed day the contestants plant shawa which is then allowed to grow for perhaps eight months. All of the contestants then dig their taro on the same day and display it, formerly before the Nanau. The Nanau would judge the biggest and finest roots, and the winner would be accorded high prestige while the loser was ridiculed and made to feel ashamed. There were a number of competitive team games, including relay races, team wrestling, and the throwing of darts along the hard ground. The Christian Endeavor today discourages these competitive sports because of the belief that they injure community solidarity. The old time competitive racing of canoes over a fixed course in the lagoon still persists in a somewhat altered form. Only newly made canoes may compete in the race which is now the most important part of the week long New Year's celebration. It seems probable that in aboriginal times the canoe racing may have been a "first fruits ceremony" similar in its ritual functions to the competitive fishing. It is said that until fairly recently special canoes used only for racing were built for the race competitions and then discarded since they could not be raced again and were not seaworthy enough to use as work canoes. Today, however, there is not sufficient breadfruit wood to enable men to build canoes for sport only. Present canoes are often a compromise in which some seaworthiness is sacrificed for the sake of speed in the hope of winning the new canoe races with the prestige this entails as Mokil's Number 1 sailor.

Aboriginally most of the rivalries described above, as well as warfare, were centered about the dual territorial division into Payti and Patak mentioned earlier in a footnote.<sup>1</sup> The boundaries on Karlap

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<sup>1</sup>. These words seem to have the general meaning of northerly and southerly, respectively. It is to be noted that they are cognates of the names Ratak and Ralik used to designate the north-eastern and south-western chains of the Marshall Islands. Phonetic variations of these terms, used to denote dual territorial divisions and with compass direction implications have been reported for other islands in the Carolines.

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between Payti and Patak are the lines between Lot 38 on one side and Lot 39, 40 and 43 on the other side. For competitive purposes today

Patak is thought of as terminating at the boundary between Lots 63 and 64. Karlap south of this line is, however, referred to as Patak when a general compass direction is intended. Currently there is no "official" extension of the Payti-Patak boundary on the seaward side of Karlap outside of the taro patch nor are Manton and Urak considered today as part of these divisions. The present conceptualization is doubtless a function of the fact that today everyone lives on Karlap and nearly everybody lives north of Lot 64, plus the fact that this territorial division today involves loyalties connected primarily with competitive sport, such as sailing, fishing, wrestling, etc.

According to tradition people lived on both Urak and Manton before the prehistoric typhoon. Manton was part of Payti, and Urak was part of Patak in those days. According to tradition each of the two areas was endogamous. Residence was patrilocal and all descendants (except for children adopted out) continued indefinitely to reside in their half of the atoll. There reputedly were individual secret forays of young Payti men into Patak territory for "sweethearting" purposes, and similar ventures of Patak men into Payti territory. But marriage across the territorial line was supposedly absolutely banned.

It is not clear in the minds of present informants whether or not Payti and Patak had separate lines of sacred and secular chiefs before the prehistoric typhoon. The evidence seems to me to suggest they did and that Mokil was, in those days, divided into two separate autonomous districts similar to the several districts into which Ponape is still divided. The two districts were usually at peace, but even then the relationship was one of competition and rivalry. From time to time the friendly relations broke down and the two districts warred against one another. The name for these feuds was *kapishu*. What the occasions for the outbreaks were is no longer clearly remembered, although August, the present king, gave the rationalistic explanation that they were an attempt to cut down the population. In any case the raiding parties were organized by individuals, and all the men in a raiding party would belong to the same matrilineal clan (*shu*). Their arms were spears and clubs. Such a raiding party would spare all people in the enemy district belonging to their own clan, but attempt to kill as many people belonging to other clans as possible. The usual custom apparently was to spare women and children, and to kill only men. The raiders would also spare any child who had been adopted into the enemy district from their own district, and likewise the parents by adoption would be spared. If this is true, it is hard to understand why everyone didn't adopt a child from the enemy district, and thus eliminate warfare. It is said that when a clan became sufficiently weakened through losses in war, the remaining members were sometimes advised to leave Mokil and given the opportunity to build canoes and sail away. If they failed to heed the advice they would be wiped out completely. Apparently, in some cases, some sort of agreement would be made between members of the same clan in the two districts so that they would take turns raiding the two districts removing members of the same rival clan.

After the great prehistoric typhoon Okatau is said to have proposed a kapishu to kill off all but the chosen clan. Some informants say that Okatau, Lashabo and Mwenshonit all belonged to the same matrilineal clan. In any case they are reputed to have killed numbers of people who did not die as a result of the typhoon and ensuing famine. They saved a few women from other clans so their sons could continue clan exogamy. My hypothesis is that Lashabo, reputed to have been a Payti man, and Okatau and Mwenshonit, reputedly Patak men, merged the two districts politically in the period immediately following the prehistoric typhoon. Repercussions of this enforced merging may in part account for the resurgence of feuding and the assassinations of several kings in the first half of the 19th century. It seems likely that the descendants of Okatau and Mwenshonit may have come to resent being governed by a Payti king, especially since, according to tradition, all survivors of the typhoon were dependent upon the few small taro pits in Urak which still produced in the years immediately after the typhoon. The great taro pit of Karlap either was invaded by salt water and was infertile for several years or had not yet been developed from the original salt water pond. It is to be noted, also, that the ancient methods of warfare on Mokil tended to perpetuate periodical revivals of that warfare. It was the custom to spare the lives of women and also of young boys. As those boys grew up part of their education evidently involved instilling in them the feeling that when they became men they must retaliate against the men who had killed their fathers. Thus a resurgence of a feud could be expected every generation or less. This is what did happen during the feuding and king killing of the early 19th century, to be described later.

Kinship System. In aboriginal times the matrilineal clans were very important social units. They were strictly exogamous. It is impossible at this date to state how many such clans there were on Mokil aboriginally. During the 19th Century numerous women were brought in from other island groups, and thus new clans originated on Mokil. Today, as I have stated elsewhere, the clans are of virtually no importance and the majority of the inhabitants do not know off hand their own clan affiliations. There are numerous instances of marriages between members of the same clan. So unimportant have clans become today that even the memory of the names of aboriginal clans and their functions has been largely obliterated.

According to present informants the patrilineal extended families or paneyneys were important even in aboriginal times. It is impossible to say now how they were integrated with the matrilineal system. I am dubious, as a matter of fact, as to the accuracy of informants' statements about the importance of the patrilineal paneyney in aboriginal times. Such statements may merely reflect the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal idea today, and may be quite inaccurate as a picture of the aboriginal situation. In this connection, it is known that Ponape was strongly matrilineal until patrilineity was enforced on the natives by the Germans, and that the Marshall Islands are still matrilineal. Since Ponape and the Marshalls appear to have been the two outside islands that exerted the most influence on



aboriginal Mokil culture it seems likely that Mokil kinship was much more strongly matrilineal aboriginally than it is today.

There is some evidence suggesting that both the levirate and the sororate may have been practiced on Mokil aboriginally. Lemshorish, who was king about 1842-45, married his brother's widow. Before him Watakwa, his father, had married the widow of Shutakanua, the son of his elder brother by adoption. In this case, however, it is said the woman refused to live with Watakwa because he was too old. There are several instances prior to 1870 when men married their brother's widows. Evidence for the Sororate is limited to one known case. Sharkiben, king from circa 1845 to 1869, had three wives, two of whom were sisters.

There are only two recorded cases of polygynous marriages on Mokil, excluding the case of the early white man, Jack Smith, who had three wives, one of whom was his own daughter; a fact that shocks present Mokilese and doubtless shocked his Mokilese contemporaries. The two known cases of aboriginal polygyny were the multiple marriages of Sharkiben, cited above and of Lashabo, the first king after the prehistoric typhoon. It is probably significant that both men were kings and that Lashabo had only one child while Sharkiben had no children of his own. Polygyny may have been restricted to kings and may have been practiced by them primarily when there was danger of their not producing an heir to the "throne". Evidently, however, aboriginal kings could take women from other men if they wanted to. At least Sharkiben took his youngest and favorite wife Lolungilang (Sarah) away from her Pingelap husband and sent the man back to Pingelap shortly before the conversion to Christianity.

Land Ownership. In aboriginal times there was apparently no concept of private ownership of coconut land. Its products were freely available to everybody. The single exception, according to present informants, is that if a man introduced a new variety of such foods as bahana, pandanus or breadfruit, the individual plant or tree was his. Custom demanded, however, that he share the first fruit of the new plant with everyone. He was also expected to give sprouts, cuttings or seeds to other individuals so they could also grow the plant. According to the history of land transfers I gathered on Mokil, the coconut land was apparently divided between Lashabo, Okatau and Mwenshonit shortly after the prehistoric typhoon. This initial division, however, may actually have occurred a generation or more later when the feuding and the king killing broke out. In that case, it may be that my informants have projected the private ownership of coconut land back a generation before it actually existed. In any case, communal use of products of the coconut land continued until the early days of copra trade in the late 1870's or early 1880's. This point will be discussed when the effect of the early copra trade is treated.

The consensus would seem to indicate that the taro land, also, was communally owned or regarded as the "property" of the Nanau, or sacred chief, prior to the great typhoon. ( It seems probable that



in pre-typhoon days all land and its produce were sacred and that the intercession of the nanau was necessary before commoners could use it.) This point is not so clear as in the case of the coconut land, however, and it seems evident that effective private ownership of taro crops, at least, if not of taro land, was practiced at least as far back as the years immediately following the prehistoric typhoon. Prior to the typhoon, as a matter of fact, very little wet land taro seems to have been grown on Mokil. Informants state that the large taro patch on Karlap was a salt water pond with an opening to the sea until after the great typhoon, and the only wet land taro was a comparatively small patch on Urak. In those days dry land taro was grown extensively on the coconut land and, like other products of the coconut land, was freely used by everyone. The large taro patch on Karlap was reclaimed after the typhoon by filling in the channel to the ocean, perhaps deepening the natural depression, and bringing in humus collected elsewhere on Mokil. This main patch was probably privately owned from the time it was originally reclaimed from the sea.

Until early in the present century, however, this ownership did not have the exclusive quality it has today. Throughout the 19th century there was apparently more than enough taro land for everyone so that certain areas of the patch frequently lay fallow. An individual who wanted to grow more taro but had no undeveloped taro land of his own could approach the owner of such a fallow area and readily receive permission to cultivate it. Any crop planted on this borrowed land belonged exclusively to the borrower, and there was apparently no concept of rental fees for the use of the land. The owner of the land could, however, reclaim it by notifying the borrower of his intention to do so as soon as a current crop had been harvested.

It thus seems that even in aboriginal times the Mokilese had definite concepts of the private ownership of taro crops as distinct from communal rights to the harvesting of dry land crops. This would seem to be directly related to the fact that dry land crops virtually grow themselves after planting and a minimum of care of the young plants, whereas wet land taro demands constant mulching and the building up of humus and plant food by placing cut vegetation around the growing plant, and is hence much more laborious to grow.

To summarize, it seems likely that prior to the prehistoric typhoon land ownership, in so far as there was such a concept, resided in the nanau, or sacred chief. Wet land taro apparently was not a staple item of diet, but probably a prestige food given to the people on ceremonial occasions by the nanau. The small wet land taro patch was probably worked by communal labor. Shortly after the typhoon each of the three surviving paneyneys came into possession of specific areas of land, both coconut and taro. At the same time each man or family group obtained private ownership over the taro crop they had planted and cultivated. Dry land crops, however, continued to be used communally despite the private ownership of coconut land. It was only under the impact of the copra trade and the partial transference to a

money economy that people began to insist upon their exclusive right to utilize the products of their own coconut land. Today this concept is as sharply drawn as in our own society, so that if an individual takes even one pandanus fruit or a bunch of bananas from land belonging to another paneyney, he can be prosecuted and fined for stealing. It is to be noted, however, that even today there is a good deal of free giving of the products of the land between paneyneys. People feel free to ask other paneyneys for all the various products of coconut land if they are temporarily short and another paneyney has a more than ample supply. Significantly, however, no one today would think of asking a member of another paneyney to give him mature taro roots.

Division of Labor and Restrictions on Menstruating Women. The sexual division of labor seems to have been more sharply drawn in aboriginal days than it is today. I was told that in early times no women ever participated in fishing outside of the reef. Even today this is primarily a male activity, but women are not completely barred from it. Women did fish, then as now, on and inside the reef.

Aboriginally, women did some of the simpler cooking of fish and breadfruit over an open fire, and also did most of the preparation of foods such as grating coconuts, the production of fermented breadfruit (mar) by a simpler aboriginal technique than the one now followed, etc. The main cooking, however, the construction of the stone oven or um, and the cooking of food therein, was aboriginally the work of men. This corresponds with the practice to some extent still followed on Ponape. Today only women work about the ums in Mokil.

Aboriginally the women of Mokil practiced an art now completely lost. They wove cloth from the fibers of banana stems. This cloth was called torr. Allegedly, women were not responsible for the care of children beyond nursing them. The picture would seem to be one in which women enjoyed an easier life and perhaps more prestige than they do now. Conceivably this change in station may correlate with a former emphasis on matrilineity as contrasted to the present strong emphasis on patrilineity.

In contrast to the present day, women aboriginally did have to seclude themselves and give up most of their daily activities during the menstrual period. There was a community menstrual hut (\*), in which young girls were confined during their first menstrual period as part of an initiation procedure. Each family had its own menstrual hut to which the women of the family retreated at every monthly period. Menstruating women could not participate in cooking, fishing, cultivating the taro patch, etc. One of my informants said the reason menstruating women could not enter the taro patch was that they would cause disease among the taro. He continued by saying that the reason diseases are so prevalent in the taro patch today is that this tapu is no longer observed.

Post-typhoon Tribulations and the Succession of Kings on Mokil.

As recounted earlier, before the great prehistoric typhoon, Lashabo had a falling out with his father, Lakayd\*kr, and left his father's residence in Payti on Karlap to join forces with the Patak men on Urak. After the typhoon Lashabo is said to have stayed on Urak until word reached him that his father had died of starvation on Karlap.<sup>1</sup> Then Lashabo and his followers, headed by Okatau and

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1. Urak was the main source of vegetable food immediately following the typhoon because the taro patch there was not destroyed by the storm.

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Mwenshonit, returned to Karlap. By some accounts, it would seem that they returned as a war expedition to exterminate at least the surviving adult males of Payti, and perhaps most of the women and children, too. By other accounts they set up a new regime with stringent emergency regulations forbidding any individual to eat any food he might find. All food was to be brought to Lashabo for distribution among the people by Okatau. According to this account numbers of people were killed because they "stole" food.

The chief legend concerning such executions as punishment concerns Pungangenmwon, mother of Watakwa, a man who later became king and who is an important legendary figure on Mokil because so many heads of present day paneyneys are descended from him. His prowess as a progenitor is a byword on Mokil and a subject for ribald jokes. One night shortly after the typhoon Pungangenmwon wrapped her feet so her tracks could not be identified and made off with a bunch of bananas which she ate secretly. The theft was nevertheless traced to her, and her offense was reported to the king. The king called Watakwa, then a lad of about twelve years of age, and asked his advice. Watakwa was so "ashamed" of his mother that he recommended that she be executed. His explanation is reputed to have been that he could not have an honorable manhood if people could taunt him with the fact that his mother was a thief. Watakwa's mother was executed. All the "big men" felt "sorry" for Watakwa, and the orphan boy was thereupon adopted by Washetip, the only son of Lashabo.<sup>2</sup> Another aspect of the Watakwa saga

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2. This story and its moral may, of course, be a recent invention. It certainly fits well with today's emphasis on property rights and the abhorrence of theft. It may also have fit<sup>ted</sup> equally well with aboriginal notions of the sacredness of the nanau's tabus and edicts. Incidentally, if the story has any basis in truth, it supports the hypothesis that Lashabo was about a generation older than Okatau and Mwenshonit, and that his son, Washetip, was approximately their contemporary.

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which may be mentioned here, slightly out of context, is that he supposedly was an illegitimate child. By one account his mother conceived him after being raped by an unknown man. Another account says



his father was Mwenshonit who reputedly had an extra-marital love affair with Watakwa's mother.

After the post-typhoon famine had taken a toll of many lives and many other people had been killed by Okatau on Lashabo's instructions, Lashabo is said to have told his followers that all survivors would make one "clan" so that there would be no more fighting on Mokil. This statement I believe to be a misuse of the word clan by present informants, and to refer, rather, to the amalgamation of the formerly two separate and autonomous districts of Payti and Patak into a single political unit.

After these initial troubles had been resolved the reign of Lashabo seems to have been peaceful and uneventful. Probably during this time, or during the equally peaceful reign of Lashabo's only son, Washetip, the main taro pit of Karlap was reclaimed and put into production. According to my estimates Washetip's death probably occurred around 1815, twenty-five to thirty-five years after the prehistoric typhoon.

Violent feuding including the repeated assassination of kings began soon after Washetip's death, probably around 1820, and continued until sometime in the 1840's when the last assassination of a king occurred.

Before going into details concerning this period of Mokil history, however, I wish to introduce Table II which lists the kings of Mokil in order, indicates the approximate dates when their reigns began and ended, and also indicates their manner of death as well as outstanding acculturative events which occurred during the reigns of the various kings. The earliest precise date in this table is 1879, the date of Mak's death. The date given for the death of Sharkiben some years earlier cannot be off more than a year or two. The earlier dates for the beginning and ending of reigns are based on verbal legends as to the approximate lengths of reigns of the various preceding kings. The dates as shown on the Table check very well with other material given me separately, such as the complete genealogies, none of which had ever been correlated or assigned year dates by the Mokilese. In the story about the execution of Watakwa's mother, for instance, it was said that he was about twelve years old at the time of the prehistoric typhoon. In giving me the list of kings I was told that Watakwa served until he was a very old man, too old to be effective, and that while he was still alive he passed the kingship on to his eldest son. Projecting the lengths of the reigns of the various kings as estimated by informants back to Watakwa resulted in a date of 1838 or thereabouts for Watakwa's abdication from the throne. If he was twelve at the time of the aboriginal typhoon, and if it occurred in 1770, he would have been eighty years old in 1838. Again there is a legend of a shipload of white men stopping at Mokil during the reign of either Sinipo or Watakwa. I think the ship was Duperrey's La Coquille. The date was 1824. This fits very well with the independently estimated date of 1825 for the ending of Sinipo's reign and the beginning of Watakwa's. The other dates given cannot be so neatly checked, but

Table II

Kings of Mokil  
(Based on Native Legend)

Number	Name	Date Reign Began	Date Reign Ended	How Reign Terminated	Important Acculturative Events During Reign
00	?	?	?	?	Legendary first white explorer, not a whale ship, Captain's name Wilson or Wellington.
0	?	?	?	?	
1	Kakayd *k	?	1770 1780	Starved in famine after typhoon	Prehistoric typhoon which caused famine and depopulation.
2	Lashabo	1770 1780	1790 1800	Natural death	Two formerly autonomous districts consolidated into one?
3	Washotip	1790 1800	1815	Natural death	Large taro pit on Karlap reclaimed from the sea?
4	Lashenos	1815	1820	Killed by son of Sinipo (5)	Deposed for bad conduct.
5	Sinipo	1820	1825	Killed by rivals	One informant: first white explorer during this reign (Duperrey, 1824?)
6	Katakwa	1825	1838	Senility; later killed by rivals	Some informants: first white explorer during this reign (Duperrey, 1824?). First white men residents. Three white men killed at instigation of fourth.
7	Lalawa	1838	1840	Lost at sea in canoe upset	White man succeeding first two groups lost at sea with Lalawa.
8 (9?)	Noshua	1840	1842	Killed by rivals	White man Jack Smith probably living on Mokil.
9 (8?)	Lenshorish	1842	1845	Killed by rivals	Many whalers visit Mokil.
10	Sharkiben (Abraham)	1845	1869	Natural death	Many whalers. Christianization. Every- one moved to Manton.
11	Mack (?) (Mak)	1869	1879	Natural death	First copra traders. Everyone moved back to Karlap.
12	Zacharias (Jakaraiaia)	1879	1884	Natural death	Zacharias spent ten years as a sailor on a whaler; around the world; learned to speak English.

(Continued on next page)

Number	Name	Date Reign Began	Date Reign Ended	How Reign Terminated	Important Acculturative Events During Reign
13	Isaac (Aijak)	<u>1884</u>	<u>1890</u>	Natural death	Spanish government established on Ponape.
14	Peter	<u>1890</u>	<u>1902</u>	Natural death	Spanish government replaced by Germans. Ponape Mission School refugees on Mokil:
15	Paul (Pol)	<u>1902</u>	<u>1904</u>	Natural Death	
16	Joel	<u>1904</u>	<u>1940</u>	Natural death	1905 typhoon. 1907, wage work at Wauru. 1911, resettlement in Sokas District, Ponape. Japanese replaced Germans.
17	August (Okes)	<u>1941</u>	---		World War II. U. S. Navy replaced Japanese as governing power.

Single underline beneath date indicates it is accurate within five years  
Double underline indicates absolute accuracy of date

I feel confident of their accuracy to within five or ten years.

Leshemos, eldest son of Washetip, became king when his father died. Leshemos was deposed after not more than five years as ruler. The legendary reason for his deposition was that he did not behave in a proper king-like fashion with regard to feast food, which was in those days always brought to the king and placed before him for his approval and distribution to the participants. These displays were probably competitive, and the occasion for publicly praising good providers and ridiculing the improvident or niggardly. In any case, no one could begin to eat until the king had caused the food to be divided among all the participants.<sup>1</sup> On one or more occasions

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<sup>1</sup> A similar custom can be observed on Mokil today at all feasts. The food is always brought and piled together before anyone eats. On public occasions the king, the head of the church, or the head of the Christian Endeavor, depending upon the nature of the feast, then directs the distribution of the food. If it is a private feast, the host carries out this function. Young men do the actual work of distributing. Only after the food has been distributed in piles in front of each participant can anyone begin to eat.

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Leshemos offended the public, according to the legend, by taking food for himself and children, and proceeding to eat it before ordering the general distribution among the people. The people, sitting hungry while the king and his children stuffed themselves, began to mutter that this man was no good as king. After Leshemos had repeated this behavior two or three times, some of the "big men" went to the next younger brother of Leshemos, Sinipo, told him he was king, and then went to Leshemos with the news that he had been deposed.

A few years after Sinipo had become king, Leshemos and his eldest son were killed. The assassination was carried out by Shutakanua, Sinipo's eldest son, and some of his followers.

The killing of Leshemos and his eldest son, Langenmwēn, is regarded, by modern Mokiēse, as the cause of the several decades of feuding and assassination of kings which followed. The killing is explained as being due to sexual jealousy. Langenmwēn was a very handsome and accomplished man sought after by all the women. Shutakanua, the eldest son of Sinipo,<sup>1</sup> was an ugly man who was jealous of Langenmwēn's success at "sweethearting." Moreover Rota, daughter of Sinipo's younger brother by adoption, Watakwa, was very much in love with Langenmwēn, but he ignored her in favor of other young

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<sup>1</sup>. See Table III for the kinship of the various people involved in this incident.

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women. Rota went to Sinipo, who was not only head of her paneyney but king, and asked him to have Langenmwēn killed. Sinipo agreed, and instructed his son, Shutakanua, to gather together a group of men to surprise and kill both Langenmwēn and his father, Leshemos. Langenmwēn was over-powered and beaten to death during a reef fishing expedition at Urak. At least ten or twelve men, as indicated in Table III, including descendants of all the "founding fathers," Lashabo, Okatau and Mwenshonit, participated in the killing. Two of Okatau's sons, Lekeyen who had been adopted by Leshemos and was Langenmwēn's half-brother by adoption, and Adaybo, attempted to defend Langenmwēn. They were prevented from doing so, but were not injured. After Langenmwēn was dead the party of men went to Leshemos' house where he was painting a canoe with aboriginal paint, and killed him despite the attempts by the women of his household to intercede for him. He was killed by being throttled with a rope, a method frequently used in aboriginal times. The two dead men were laid out on mats in their house, and all the people came to weep and mourn over them, including Sinipo and Shutakanua.

The motivations for these killings offered by the native accounts seem rather weak to me. Considerations unmentioned in the legend seem much more important to me. For example, Leshemos, alive and deposed, must have represented a considerable danger to Sinipo and his heirs if they were interested in retaining the kingship. This would have been especially true if, in those days as today, the elder brother occupied

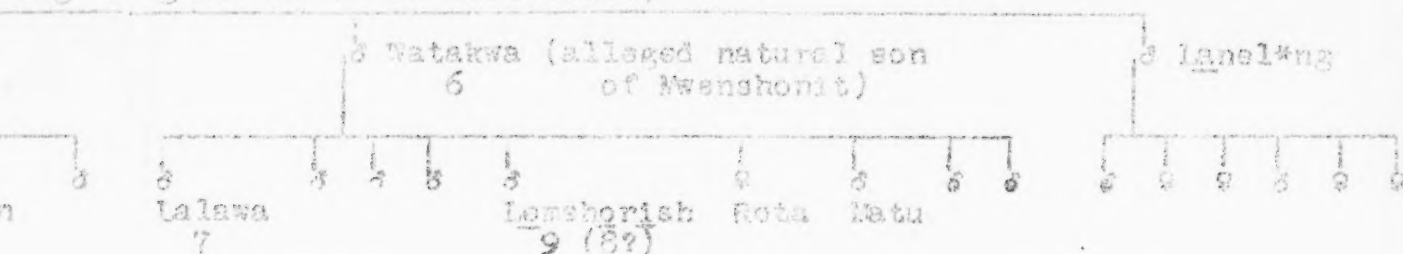


people

Involved in Feuding

Line  
sing

generations of this line.)

Line  
tau

♂ Iskeyan  
(Ad. by Leshamas)

♂ Isacc  
13

♂ Lapoko  
(Fr. Mwenshonit;  
stayed here)

Line  
shonit

♂ Lapoko  
(Ad. by Okatau and stayed there)

♂ Larno

♂ Sharkiben  
(To Sinipo line)  
[This branch of the Mwenshonit line  
became extinct when Sharkiben moved  
and his sisters married out.]

son was allegedly dead before the feuding began.)



a position of definite superiority to his younger brothers. My guess is that Sinipo and Shutakanua feared they might be the victims of a coup initiated by Leshemos, and/or his son. Supporting this suggestion of the possible motivation of Sinipo and Shutakanua is the fact that they killed not only Leshemos and his eldest son, Langenmwon, but attempted to assassinate Leshemos' younger sons as well. Sometime after this initial outbreak of fighting, probably after both Sinipo and Shutakanua had been killed in their turn, Leshemos' two younger sons, by that time the only two left alive, fled from Mokil on a whaling ship to escape being killed and never returned. On this same occasion Leshemos' younger daughter also fled, or at least accompanied a white sailor aboard a whale ship and never returned. None of Leshemos' five sons left any descendants on Mokil and both his two adopted sons returned after his death to the Okatau line from which they had been adopted. Three of Leshemos' five daughters had children, but there are only two paneyneys on Mokil today who trace their direct line of descent through these women to Leshemos. One of Leshemos' other daughters later married Sharkiben during whose reign the feuding terminated, Christianity was introduced to Mokil, and the present dynasty of kings was established.

The descendants of Mwenshonit were clearly deeply involved in these assassinations which initiated the long period of feuding. In the first place, if Watakwa was the illegitimate son of Mwenshonit as is alleged and if Rota, his daughter, initially persuaded Sinipo to kill his older brother and the sons of that brother, Watakwa may well have been manipulating the situation from behind the scenes, motivated by a desire to eliminate his older adopted brothers and himself succeed to the kingship as a sort of uniter of the Lashabo and Mwenshonit lines. It seems difficult to understand the participation of the other sons and grandsons of Mwenshonit, including the two who had been adopted into the Okatau line, unless we accept the hypothesis that the Payti and Patak districts had been autonomous prior to the reign of Lashabo, and that the Mwenshonit men, loyal to Patak, were seeking to promote discord among the descendants of the Payti man, Lashabo, with the hope of themselves taking over the kingship. Later events in the long, drawn-out feud tend to reinforce this interpretation. Some men from the Mwenshonit line did become kings briefly during the feuding. Sharkiben, the king who finally established the dynasty which persists until the present time, was a son of Mwenshonit's son, Larno, who was one of the men involved in killing Langenmwon and Leshemos. Sharkiben was adopted into and took over the headship of Sinipo's paneyney after Sinipo and his son, Shutakanua, were in their turn assassinated. Thus we may say that he eventually succeeded, where Watakwa failed, in amalgamating the lines of Lashabo and Mwenshonit so far as the kingship is concerned. As Table III shows, sons and grandsons of Okatau were even more numerous in the party that killed Leshemos and Langenmwon than were Mwenshonit men. By some accounts, Okatau himself was still alive at this time and participated in the killing, although he was an old man. Members of the Okatau line probably shared with the Mwenshonit men the loyalty to Patak and the opposition to having a line of Payti men as kings. In addition, the Okatau men seemed to have been working both sides of the street, inasmuch as two of Okatau's sons attempted to prevent the assassination.

The Okatau men were doubtless aware that none of them could become king since the secular powers of kingship had been seized by the descendants of the sacred chiefs. Possibly the Okatau men hoped to regain their lost prerogatives, or possibly their intent was simply to have a foot in each camp so they could retain their position no matter who won out. It may also be that the Okatau men represented a sort of aboriginal equivalent of mercenary soldiers. Okatau himself was, according to tradition, a fierce warrior and a willing executioner. These roles were probably traditional in this family of powerful secular chiefs and "generals".

In any case, Sinipo did not succeed in consolidating his regime by having Leshemos killed. Within a few years (by some accounts less than a year) vengeance was taken for the death of Leshemos and his son by the assassination of Sinipo and his son, Shutakanua. According to legend it was Lokeyen, the son of Okatau who had been adopted by Leshemos, who instigated the vengeance. He is reputed to have spoken first to his brothers, the sons of Okatau, who had originally helped to kill Leshemos and Langenmwun, and persuaded them that Sinipo and Shutakanua should be killed. The sons of Watakwa and Mwenshonit are alleged to have helped in these assassinations, too.

Watakwa, by now an elderly man, became king after Sinipo's death. It is easy to believe that all the while Watakwa had had this goal of eliminating his older brothers by adoption so that he could take over the kingship. He served as king for probably twelve to fifteen years until he became too old. At this time he passed on the kingship to his eldest son, Lalawa.

Meanwhile, after Sinipo and Shutakanua had been killed, his family, like that of Leshemos<sup>1</sup>, was left without any male heirs. Several daughters were spared, including a woman named Lienurek (woman of Urah), who administered his estate.<sup>1</sup> Lienurek is something of a culture heroine because of her success in hanging onto the land that

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I. It may be pushing my interpretation of these early events too far to suggest that the use of this name for a descendant of the Payti family of Lashabo may have been an effort to ingratiate that line further into the affections of the two Patak family lines.

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belonged to her paneyney, and in preventing the paneyney from dying out. She persuaded Sharkiben, the eldest son of Larno, and thus a grandson of Mwenshonit, to take over the headship of her paneyney. Present gossip alleges that Sharkiben was really sired by Sinipo through a love affair with Larno's wife. This story may be nothing more than an attempt to give a formal kinship basis for Sharkiben's taking over the heritage of Lashabo and Sinipo. In any case, it was Sharkiben in later years who finally established the dynasty of kings which still functions on Mokil. In the minds of the present Mokilese, Sharkiben belongs to the lineage of Lashabo, as shown on the genealogical chart. It is to be noted, however, that he was really a Mwenshonit man and

that, under him, the claims of both the Lashabo and Mwenshonit lines to the kingship were merged.

But before Sharkiben became king there were further killings. Lalawa, Watakwa's eldest son, served as king only a couple of years when he was lost at sea. During his reign, or possibly while Watakwa was king, occasional whaling ships began to visit Mokil. A white man named Jim deserted from one of the first of these ships and took up residence on Mokil. One day during Lalawa's reign the sails of a whaling ship were seen over the horizon. Jim, who wanted to replenish his supply of tobacco, persuaded Lalawa and two or three other men to go with him and attempt to overhaul the sailing vessel in a large paddling canoe.<sup>1</sup> The canoe capsized at sea and all the

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<sup>1</sup>. This canoe is said to have been a Ponape canoe brought to Mokil by Jim. This may be true since Ponape canoes are much larger than present Mokil canoes and can easily carry five or six men, although they are not very seaworthy in rough water. On the other hand Mokil canoes were larger when Duperroy (1824) visited Mokil than they are today. Lesson said they held ten men each.

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occupants were drowned.

There are two stories current in Mokil today, giving different versions of the succession of kings immediately following Lalawa. One version says Lalawa's third younger brother, Lemshorish succeeded him, and was followed by Noshua. The alternative account, which seems more probable to me, would reverse this order with Noshua succeeding Lalawa and Lemshorish following Noshua. I shall give my reasons, in the ensuing paragraphs, for preferring the latter account.

According to the first version of events at this period of Mokil history, Lalawa's younger brother Lemshorish succeeded to the kingship when Lalawa died about 1840. During Lemshorish's reign which lasted only three years or so other white men came to live on Mokil. I will discuss these events below in the section devoted to early white contacts. It is to be noted that according to present informants Lemshorish was not Watakwa's second eldest son but was his fourth son. After the death of Lalawa, the eldest son, two brothers were supposedly skipped over to select Lemshorish for the kingship. Tradition says the two intervening brothers did not have "good heads" which probably means they lacked the executive or judicial ability which are important qualities in a king. The selection of Lemshorish was allegedly made by his father, Watakwa, presumably with the consent of the people (see below).

According to this version of events, Lemshorish had reigned only two or three years when a coalition of men from the Qatau and Mwenshonit lineages decided to band together and exterminate all males in the Watakwa paneyney. Some say this party was led by Shamweylix, son of Noshua and grandson of Mwenshonit. Other informants credit



Sharkiben with leadership of the coalition. It will be recalled that Sharkiben and Noshua were patrilineal parallel cousins. Sharkiben had grown up with his older foster sister, Lienurek, who had married into the Okatau line. It is likely that both Sharkiben and Shamweylix, along with a considerable body of cousins and other male relatives, participated in the killing.

In any case the party killed Watakwa, by now a very old man, and all of his living sons except Lishiar. Lishiar, at the time a boy approaching or in early adolescence, was spared in response to the entreaties of his eldest sister, Rosa.<sup>1</sup> The plea put forth by Rosa which saved the life of her younger brother was, according to all

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<sup>1</sup>. Note the name Rosa is of Western origin. It was given to her at a later date when Mokil was Christianized. On that occasion all living natives were given "Christian" names. Many of Rosa's contemporaries are known by two names, a native one and a Western one. Of the people being discussed, for instance, Shamweylix took the name Boas, and Lishiar took the name Matthew. Rosa must have had an aboriginal name too, of course, but I did not learn what it was.

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present informants, that if the assassins killed the last remaining male in the family, Rosa would starve because she would have no one to cook for her. If this account is historically accurate, it probably indicates that women were under an interdiction in those days either not to cook at all or perhaps only not to cook in the stone ovens or ums. In return for sparing her brother's life Rosa gave Shamweylik a piece of land on Karlap. This may indicate that Shamweylik rather than Sharkiben was the leader of this war party, or it may indicate merely that Shamweylik was the man about to kill Lishiar when Rosa intervened.

According to this version of affairs Noshua, eldest son of Mwenshonit's eldest son, and oldest surviving male of the Mwenshonit line, became king after the virtual extermination of the Watakwa paneyney. He was in office only two or three years when he and his younger brothers were in turn assassinated. This version of these ancient events is quite weak at this point because informants were unable to tell me who it was that killed Noshua and his brothers. By this account Sharkiben became the next king. This fact seems to involve an inconsistency. The evidence for the other killings indicates that the instigators and "brains" behind them were usually middle-aged men, and that these instigators became kings after causing the assassination of the rival; It seems somewhat unlikely that Sharkiben would have participated in killing his elder cousin and head of the paneyney into which Sharkiben had been born. Even if he did take part in the killing, some older man would have been more likely to have succeeded to the kingship. Moreover, if the series of killings did, as I think, result from the rivalry between descendants of Lashabo and Mwenshonit for the kingship, the killers of Noshua would most likely have been Lashabo people, and one of them should

have become king after Noshua.

The following story seems to me a more probable version of events at this point in Mokil history than does the one above. By this account people became indignant with Watakwa when he designated his eldest son, Lalawa, to assume the kingship. People are alleged to have thought a qualified man from another paneyney should have had a chance at the office. This statement might conceivably indicate that some sort of an agreement had been made to alternate the kingship between the Lashabo and Mwenshonit paneyneys, or it may merely mean that the Mwenshonit "outs" were in a mood to seize any pretext to stir up trouble and discontent against the reigning king.

In any case, according to this second version of history the accidental death of Lalawa presented the enemies of Watakwa with an opportunity to seize the kingship. Men from both the Okatau and Mwenshonit paneyneys formed a war party and killed Watakwa and his two oldest surviving sons, Lemeywut and Shobwalap. Watakwa's fourth son, Wab\*li, had died of natural causes at an earlier date. Some of Watakwa's four younger sons are said to have been away from Mokil at this time, and Lishiar, at least, was apparently young enough to be spared by the war party.

After this assassination, according to this version, Noshua, the eldest son of Mwenshonit's eldest son and head of the Mwenshonit paneyney, became king. Within two or three years the surviving sons of Watakwa with the help of a couple of cousins took vengeance by killing Noshua and a couple of his younger brothers.

It was at this time, according to this second version, that Lemshorish, who had led the avenging party that killed Noshua, became king. The reign of Lemshorish was brief, as in the other version. He was killed by a war party organized by Shamweylik, the third son of Noshua. Both Mwenshonit and Okatau men joined the party which killed all the surviving sons of Watakwa except Lishiar. The story of sparing him to be Rosa's cook is given in this version, too. In this version the fact that Rosa gave land to Shamweylik for sparing her brother is readily explained by his being the leader of the avenging party.

This time the kingship was given, not to the victorious faction directly, but to a compromise candidate, Sharkiben. This man, it will be recalled, had been born in the Mwenshonit paneyney, a grandson of Mwenshonit. He had been "adopted" by Lienurek, the daughter of Sinipo, after the latter had been assassinated. Sharkiben was apparently about a generation younger than Lienurek and spent his childhood and adolescence in her household. She married Leshaboro, the third son of Okatau. Lienurek kept control of the bulk of her father's land throughout Sharkiben's youth and indicated from the beginning her intention to bestow this land on him in return for his taking over the maleless Sinipo paneyney, and remaining permanently in it so the family line would not die out. Sharkiben was thus an ideal compromise for the kingship since he had close and intimate ties and support from all three of the major lines. It is not clear whether Sharkiben had actively participated in the feuding or not. Informants disagree on this point.

In any event, Sharkiben had the longest known reign as king of Mokil of anyone with the possible exception of Washetip prior to the twentieth Century. It is interesting to note that Watakwa, the previous compromise king, also had a long and apparently peaceful reign until he abdicated and attempted to pass the kingship on to his son. Skill and ability undoubtedly stood both men in good stead, but it seems probable to me that both were served even better by the fact that each had strong kinship ties with both the Lashabo and Mwenshonit lines.

Occasional whaling ships had come to Mokil before Sharkiben's reign, but it was during his kingship that the peak of whaling in this part of the world was reached and passed. The Mokilese had heard about Christianity from some of the white men who visited or lived on Mokil during this period. The Mokilese had also heard about the establishment, by the Boston Mission Society in 1852, of mission stations on the island of Ponape. A missionary ship had stopped briefly at Mokil in September of 1857.

Sharkiben made rather amusing and statesman-like use of the Mokilese interest in Christianity to prevent another outbreak of feuding, and also to save his own life. In mid 1862 Sharkiben got wind of a plot against his life. According to the story he was working on Manton one day when he heard a group of men approaching and, being both nimble-witted and nimble-footed, he climbed a pandanus tree and hid in the thick vegetation. The men stopped immediately below his tree, of course, and discussed whether or not to assassinate him. Shamweylik, the old warrior who had probably participated in the killing of Watakwa, and had led the party that killed Lomshorish, was again attempting to form a war party, this time to kill Sharkiben. Shamweylik's brother, Lamwalakiang (Moses) was outspokenly opposed to the idea.

Sharkiben did not wait to learn what the final decision was, but took his favorite wife (he had three) and boarded a whale ship which luckily happened to be lying off Mokil. They arrived in Ponape in September of 1862 and apparently stayed there several months while Sharkiben attended the mission school, and had himself converted to Christianity.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>. It is interesting that through field research in Mokil, without access to books or documentary records I had concluded that the date of Sharkiben's trip to Ponape to have himself Christianized must have occurred about 1862 to 1864. Since my return I have obtained through the courtesy of Miss Mary Alden Walker, librarian and research secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Boston, Massachusetts, a copy of an entry from the journal of the Reverend A.A. Sturges, dated September 20, 1862 which reads in part as follows: "There is now a sperm whale ship in port. She brings no news from the world: the ship's company were nearly all present at our English service yesterday. This ship brought the king and queen of Wellington Island [at that time the usual chart name for Mokil], and two foreigners with their wives; they are here visiting our chiefs. The king is anxious to take back a missionary with him, and I am much inclined to have one of our little church go, but think on the whole, we shall wait for the return of the Morning Star [the mission ship]."



1. (continued) "The natives of Wellington were much interested in our work: especially in the wonderful art of printing and the king struck off a sheet himself, and has a copy of his own 'book' to carry back to his people; they will doubtless be greatly astonished at his accomplishment." Mr. Sturges would doubtless have been quite astonished in his turn if he had known that Sharkiben had just fled Mokil and proposed to become a Christian partly in order to save his life.

Sharkiben did not succeed in getting a native Ponape missionary to return with him when he went back to Mokil a few months later. He did, however, return as a Christian preaching the gospel of brotherly love and assuring his fellow Mokilese that people who killed others could not go to Heaven. With the little Sharkiben knew about Christianity he thus saved his life, put a quietus on the feuding and "Christianized" his people. The Mokilese regarded themselves as Christians for many years even before a native missionary was sent to the island to preach.

One more episode will conclude the story of plots of violence and assassination. In the early 1890's, while Spain was officially in control of the Eastern Carolines but had a very feeble government, there was an abortive attempt in Mokil to resume the old feuding. On this occasion the leader of the plotters was Peter, who was then the king. He and a group of men who were all descended from Lanelung (Washetip's youngest son, hence a Lashabo man) and Watakwa almost worked themselves up to the point of attempting to kill a large number of men from both the Okatau and Mwenshonit lines to avenge the earlier killings. Shamweylik (Boas), still alive but by now an aged old savage, heard of the matter and went directly to the plotters to get the facts. A public meeting was held, in fact, to which Boas said in effect that he was ready to die and he thought it only fair that the Watakwa men should have their vengeance. But other people spoke up, acting as peace makers, and forestalled the killing. Informants say that matters had gone so far that the plotters had already cached their weapons where they could be picked up quickly for a surprise attack.

Sharkiben was childless, although prior to his Christianization he was polygynously married to three women.<sup>1</sup> To compensate for his

<sup>1</sup>. It was probably good politics that led Sharkiben to marry two women who were sisters, older than himself, and daughters of Leshemos, the first king to be killed at the instigation of his younger brother, Sinipo, whose paneyney Sharkiben was trying to perpetuate. His third wife was an equally good choice, politically speaking. Her name was Lolngilng (Christian name, Sarah), and she was the daughter of Lanelung who is credited in the genealogies as being the youngest son of Washetip, and hence a brother to both Leshemos and Sinipo, the first two kings killed, and a brother by adoption to Watakwa who later was also killed. (Informants say Lanelung was actually born to Washetip's wife many years after Washetip had died.) I suggest that by marrying these women Sharkiben was solidifying his position in the Lashabo line. As will be noted later in the discussion of adoption, adopted children are usually quite insecurely fastened to their foster families, and most adoptions today end in the person's returning to his family of birth.

childlessness, Sharkiben adopted several children of both sexes. The most important of these was Mak (Mack?), the first Mokil child whose father was a white man. Mak's father was an English sailor known to the Mokilese only as San (probably John), who came to live on Mokil about 1840, and was killed there a short time later under circumstances to be described below. Mak's mother was Shonitangwa, a granddaughter of Mwenshonit and Sharkiben's own parallel cousin. The current opinion is that Sharkiben wanted Mak because he cherished his light skin and assumed that, as the son of a white man, he would be smarter than a full blooded Mokilese. These attitudes are current among the Mokil people today, and probably were in Sharkiben's day, too.

It may have been only a lucky accident that Mak was also a son of the Mwenshonit line. I am willing, however, to credit Sharkiben with enough political insight, and perhaps loyalty to his own lineage of birth as well, to choose an heir from the Mwenshonit line. At any rate there was apparently no ripple of protest when Mak succeeded to the kingship at Sharkiben's death, about 1869. He, like Sharkiben before him, was born of the Mwenshonit line, but permanently adopted into the Lashabo line. During Mak's reign whaling ships almost stopped coming to the seas about Mokil, but a few years after his reign began the first copra traders touched at Mokil and began supplying the people quantities of manufactured goods and outside foods in exchange for copra. This development will be discussed when I describe the early white contacts.

Mak was a young man, probably only twenty-five or thirty years old, when Sharkiben died and he assumed the kingship. He died about ten years later, in 1879, in the prime of life. His death occurred at sea on a trading schooner, and was caused by some sudden illness. His family, one son and five daughters, were young children at the time of Mak's death. A series of four elderly men then served in succession as kings until Mak's only son, Joel, was old enough to assume the position. The first of these men was Zacharias (Zakaraias) who had returned to Mokil shortly before Mak's death after having been away reputedly ten years as a sailor on a whaling ship. During the course of his travels, Zacharias had been around the world, had learned English, and knew the ways of white men. This was probably why the people chose him as king, for by this time they were apparently tired of being cheated by copra traders and victimized by the white men living on Mokil.

Each of the four men who served as king between Mak and Joel, in order Zacharias, Isaac (Aijak) Peter (Piter or Pisa) and Paul (Pol) were chosen by the people through discussion at public meetings after the death of the previous king. Zacharias and Paul were both members of the Mwenshonit lineage, although Paul was adopted into the Okatau lineage, and his children and grandchildren now consider themselves to be members of the Okatau line. Peter was a grandson of Watakwa and therefore a member of the Lashabo line through the adoption of Watakwa into that line. Isaac, who reigned from about 1884 to 1890, was the only out and out Okatau man ever to be king of Mokil. Mokil informants explained this anomaly by saying that Isaac had been adopted by Leshemos, the first king to be assassinated, and that he was therefore considered to belong to the Lashabo line by adoption. Isaac's father

was Lekeyen, a son of Okatau who had definitely been adopted by Leshemos. It will be recalled that Lekeyen attempted to resist the men who killed Leshemos's eldest son, Langenmwun, and that he is accredited with organizing the vengeance party that assassinated Sinipo and Shutakanua, the murderers of Leshemos and Langenmwun. Lekeyen was apparently a very young man at this time, but he may have been married and have had his only child, Isaac, before Leshemos died. It is possible, then, that Leshemos might have adopted the baby "grandson", a not unusual practice on Mokil. Even if Isaac was not actually adopted by Leshemos before the latter's death, however, it seems reasonable that Lekeyen's act in defending and later avenging his family of adoption would create a strong feeling on the part of the people of Mokil of kinship between Lekeyen and Leshemos. Under these circumstances they might easily have thought of Isaac as a sort of grandson of Leshemos even though he had not actually been adopted by the elder man.

Mokil informants all say that the public had a voice in choosing a new king after the death of the old one. It is common for an aged or ailing king to "nominate" his successor, but informants say the people can accept this nomination or reject it and choose someone else. It seems clear that during the period from 1879 until 1904 the kings were essentially chosen by the people, and no pattern of hereditary office was set up. But when Joel, Mak's only son, became old enough he was made king when Paul died in 1904. This again may have been purely a popular choice, although information about Joel convinces me that he would not have been chosen king had he not been Mak's son. Joel was apparently somewhat erratic, not very bright, and did not make a particularly good king. During his reign, in fact, the German government, which was in control of the area from the time his reign began until 1914, established the office of "Number 2 king." The Germans worked almost entirely through this man, Johnny Higgins, and bypassed Joel.

When Joel died in 1940 his son, August, became king, and still holds the office. August has an older brother, but he lives in the Marshall Islands where there are large family land holdings acquired from the present king's mother, Sophie, daughter of a German trader and a Marshall woman. I think it is significant, too, that Johnny Higgins' only son, George Higgins, has succeeded him as "Number 2 king." The evidence seems clear that the ideal succession of kingship is from father to son. Very definitely, however, everyone, including August, the present king, believes the community has the right to refuse the office to a man unacceptable to them. If we can trust the traditional history, the people did depose Leshemos over a hundred years ago.

There has been a question in my mind as to whether the kingship may not have descended matrilineally in aboriginal times. Clearly it did not do so after the great prehistoric typhoon, for there is a steady father to eldest son descent of the kingship through three generations immediately following the typhoon. This may have been a makeshift arrangement associated with the cultural trauma produced by the typhoon. Conceivably the feuding and king killing which has been described may somehow have been tied up with a shift from matrilineal to patrilineal succession of kings. This is pure



speculation on my part, however, for I have been unable to find any evidence favorable to such a view. As will be shown later with the land inheritance, there too, descent seems to have been strongly patrilineal immediately after the great typhoon. All of this seems to indicate that for some odd reason Mokil really has been, even anciently, a patrilineal stronghold completely surrounded by matrilineally organized societies.

#### Early Contacts With Other Island Groups.

The people of Mokil are quite aware that many of their techniques and customs are derived from elsewhere, particularly the Marshall Islands. Methods of preserving a variety of vegetable foods by pulverizing them, drying them in the sun and wrapping them in pandanus leaves, for example, are known to have been acquired from the Marshallese, probably within historic times. Likewise, the present Mokil sailing canoe is known to be derived from Marshall prototypes. As the genealogical charts show, a fair number of individuals from the Marshalls, the Gilberts, Ponape, Kusaie, Pingelap and even one man<sup>823</sup> as far away as Tonga came to Mokil to live during and since the days of the whaling ships. But even before that, before the first white contact, it is evident that there was some communication and travel from other island groups to Mokil. For example, Okatau's wife, Apalayshu, is said to have been a Pingelap woman who was brought to Mokil as a small child by her parents who then stayed on Mokil and were killed in the prehistoric typhoon. One of Lashabo's three wives, Apungtangwa, is said to have been a Marshallese woman.

There are also traditions on Mokil of at least two sizeable parties of Marshallese navigators that sailed to Mokil in past times. One of these parties is supposed to have appeared at Mokil at some indeterminate time prior to the prehistoric typhoon when a man named Takaju was king of Mokil. This Marshallese party is said to have consisted of eight canoes, each large enough to have carried a hundred people. The canoes are said to have had houses constructed on the outrigger platforms, and sound generally like the type of large sailing double canoes that Cook found in use on Tonga when he discovered that island group. The prehistoric fleet of eight Marshall canoes reputedly hailed from Majuro and had been blown off course when they attempted to reach Jaluit (Mokil name, Shobwar) and fetched up at Mokil.

Mokil tradition says that these Marshallese were given a friendly welcome and that the whole island of Urak was turned over to them for their use. Eventually, however, according to the legend, one of the Marshall men caught a Mokil man having intercourse with his wife and promptly killed the Mokilese. When the other Mokil people discovered the deed they reported it to their king. The Mokil king conferred with the leader of the Marshallese who agreed to execute the killer the following day.

It is said that Takaju proposed to stay with the Marshall people on Urak over night, but that his people insisted on his returning to Karlap with them. During the night the Mokilese prepared to attack the Marshallese people who were apparently forewarned or suspicious

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for they are said to have been gathered at the tip of Urak nearest Karlap, apparently awaiting the attack. The Mokilese attacked about four A.M., using the spears that were the chief weapons of warfare in those days. The Marshallese totaled about 400 people including women and children, and their warriors were considerably outnumbered by the Mokilese.<sup>1</sup> The Mokilese steadily drove the Marshall Islanders

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1. If this legend, and particularly the population estimate, has any basis in fact, it suggests that at this early date the Mokil population must have been even greater than it is today.

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back until the noon hour when the Mokil king called a halt in the fighting, and all the Mokil people returned to Karlap to have lunch. While they were gone the leader of the Marshallese loaded all the women and children on two of the canoes the Marshallese had brought and stocked them with food and water so that they were ready to sail. He then felled a coconut tree at a particular point on Urak as a marker and announced that the Marshallese should fight until driven back to this point whereupon they should make a break for the canoes. When the fighting was resumed during the afternoon the Marshallese were driven back to this marker and the men who were able to do so leaped into the ready canoes which then put to sea.

Another Marshallese voyage to Mokil is said to have occurred when Sinipo was king, about 1820 to 1825. According to this story a fleet of Marshallese canoes on a combination exploring-plundering expedition sailed from Kwajalein to attack the island of Pingelap, some sixty miles east and a bit south of Mokil. Although on such expeditions all canoes of a Marshall fleet are said to have been under the control of a fleet captain, in this case two of the canoes refused to attack Pingelap and separated from the fleet to make a peaceable visit at Mokil. The captain of these canoes is said to have been Larulan, and the names of the canoes were Pikiñi and Retyu.

An interesting point illustrating the temporal unreliability of such legends as these concerns what was told me on Mokil as a sequel to the earlier of the two Marshall visits described above. The sequel had been picked up by my Mokil informant on Ujelang from a Kapingamarangi man named "Preri". The Kapingamarangi man told of two canoes from Majuro that reached Kapingamarangi at some undetermined past time with their crews in bad shape due to exhaustion of their supplies of food and water. The mariners said, according to the Kapingamarangi man, that they had come from the Marshalls via Mokil. The Marshallese were reputedly well received on Kapingamarangi and lived there for several months or years while they constructed a new canoe for the long voyage home. According to the Kapingamarangi man's story, when the Marshallese were ready to reembark, they attacked their hosts and killed all people who did not flee to the bush.

This incident, however, apparently can not be connected with the pretyphoon visit to Mokil, nor probably with any large scale



fight between Mokilese and Marshallese people. According to Dr. Kenneth Emory of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii, the people of Kapingamarangi today do have a tradition of a Marshallese voyage from Majuro to Kapingamarangi. They do not, however, have any tradition that these people stopped at Mokil. Moreover, the son of one of the Marshallese is still alive on Kapingamarangi and he readily fixes the date of the Marshall visit at approximately 1875.<sup>1</sup>

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1. The source of this information is a letter from Dr. Emory.

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At least one trip was made from Mokil to Jabwot Island in the Marshalls. This voyage occurred during the reign of Sharkiben (1845-1869). He and several of his contemporaries are said to have accompanied Lam\*lan, the Marshallese captain who had earlier refused to attack Pingelap in the legend described above, in a Marshall canoe capable of carrying about thirty people.

An accidental contact from the Gilbert Islands occurred when Zacharias was king (1879-1884). A Gilbert canoe containing three men nearly dead of starvation drifted ashore one day on Urak. According to present Mokil accounts these men had been fishing when a sudden squall blew them away from the ~~Marshall Islands~~, and they had been adrift with a broken mast for six or seven weeks when they made the landfall at Mokil. According to the account they had obtained sufficient drinking water from the frequent rains, but had staved off starvation only by eating their sail, which must have been made of pandanus matting. The canoe came from the island of Maiana as did at least two of the men, Takapup and Mumwap. The third man, Shekin, came either from Maiana or Makin (Mokil name, Butaritari). Takapup died of his experience, but the other two men lived, recovered and eventually returned to the Gilbert Islands.

One of these men, Shekin, later made an intentional voyage from the Gilberts to Ponape. This voyage occurred about 1911 or 1912, and Shekin was accompanied this time by a Gilbert man named Towé. On this trip the two men traveled in a large sailing whale boat and stopped off a month or so at Pingelap on the way. When they reached Ponape they gave the whale boat to the missionary, Mr. Gray. This voyage may well have been made in order to repay the Ponape missionaries for services rendered the Gilbert men in getting them back to their home after their earlier misadventure. I thought it interesting that my Mokil informants seemed to take this second trip in a very matter-of-fact way. When I inquired of my informants why anyone would be foolhardy enough to risk a second voyage of this length I was told: "Oh Shekin had been over the route before, he knew the way."

These various accounts of prehistoric and protohistoric contacts between Mokil and other islands in the general vicinity do not contain accounts of specific cultural acquisitions or interchanges. They do, however, indicate clearly that these scattered islands were not completely isolated from one another before the white man came, and

that both cultural and population exchange occurred between them.

### Early White Contact.

This section must at present be regarded as a very tentative summary because I have not yet had the opportunity to investigate the literature and possible manuscript sources thoroughly in an effort to check certain legends now current on Mokil as well as to resolve some of the inconsistencies present in the data as it now stands. This section must therefore be regarded as incomplete and possibly subject to considerable revision at a later date.

A tantalizing legend on Mokil is that the first ship manned by white men to stop at the island came during the reign of the second king prior to Lakaydak. The date of this voyage could have been anywhere from twenty to fifty or more years prior to the prehistoric typhoon which I have dated in the decade 1770-1780. Informants who tell this story are emphatic that the ship was not a whaler and that the name of its captain was probably Wilson or possibly Wellington. It is possible that the name Wellington was added to this legend in the middle of the 19th Century when, for reasons I have been unable to ascertain, Captain Cheyne assigned this name to Mokil.<sup>1</sup>

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1. A description of the islands of the western Pacific Ocean north and south of the Equator, with sailing directions, together with their production, manners and customs of the natives, and vocabularies of their languages. London, 1852.

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King August, however, insists that the first ship to visit Mokil, whose captain he also insists was named Wilson, arrived during Sinipo's reign, circa 1820-25. In this event the ship in question would almost certainly have been Duperrey's La Coquille. In that case it is conceivable that Lesson, who wrote the history of the voyage, may have been mistaken by the Mokilese for the captain and his name twisted in ensuing years to Wilson. Those informants who insist upon the story of the earlier ship state that the next ship to call stopped at Mokil during either Sinipo's or Watakwa's reign. So we do seem to have, here, a definite memory of Duperrey's voyage inasmuch as the boundary between the reign of Sinipo and Watakwa, as estimated in the table of kings, falls around the year 1825. Only a couple of items of anecdotal interest seem to be remembered about this event. One is that the Mokilese, upon approaching the ship, were badly frightened to see clothing hanging in the rigging. It was their impression that the ship's crew were cannibals and that they skinned their victims and hung the skins in the rigging, probably as a sort of trophy. The other anecdote states that Watakwa, then a young man, was one of those who eventually went aboard the ship and that he was there given a piece of iron. The story is that when he returned to shore he planted the iron in the taro pit in the hopes that it would grow.

It is to be noted that Lesson's account of the Duperrey contact contains the statement that one of the Mokilese who approached their ship had a small iron adze made from a bit of cask hoop. Lesson concluded that either some other European ship had preceded La Coquille at Mokil or else the Mokilese had obtained a bit of iron from some other island group where a European ship had stopped. The two interpretations seem equally plausible to me and therefore, especially in view of the Mokil legend of an earlier contact, there is a legitimate question as to whether Duperrey really discovered the island as he is universally accredited with doing.

From the Mokil accounts it would seem that several white men lived on Mokil for more or less brief periods in the decade and a half immediately following Duperrey's visit. The stories on Mokil are confused and certain items in the literature, to be cited below, increase one's skepticism concerning the dates and numbers of these alleged early visitors. The account of King August is more self-assured and internally consistent than others (but not necessarily more accurate). He states that within a year after the visit of the ship during Sinipo's reign, which I take to be Duperrey's voyage, an English whaler touched at Mokil and four men left her to take up residence on the island. These men, known only by their first names, were San (probably John or Sam), Jake, Tom and Charlie. By August's account these men were all Englishmen, although other informants allege that at least one of them was a Frenchman and one may have been a German.

Only one of these men, San, is identifiable on the genealogical charts. He married Shonitangwa, a granddaughter of Mwenshonit, who was apparently a middle-aged woman when Christianization came to Mokil in the 1860's. (At that time she was given the name Shalis(Jallis)) She might, therefore, have been an adolescent in 1825 and could, consequently, have been married to San at that date. Their son, Mak (Mack?), adopted by Sharkiben, was the grandfather of the present king. He definitely died in 1879, at an age estimated by two of his daughters who still survive, of between forty and fifty years. This information accords well with the date he should have been born according to Mokil legends of the time when San lived on the island, especially if Mak was really nearer fifty than forty when he died.

San, Jake and Tom were all allegedly killed by the Mokilese circa 1830-1835. This event allegedly occurred within six months after two Americans, known as Luke and Frank, deserted an American whaler on Mokil. Allegedly the Americans inflamed the Mokilese against the Englishmen on the basis of English-American rivalry.<sup>1</sup>

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1. The Mokilese think this killing occurred during the time of the American Revolutionary War, but this is manifestly impossible. If there is any truth in the alleged motivation of Luke, it may reflect lingering nationalistic rivalry stemming from the War of 1812 and still flaming in the hearts of men whose lives were spent in isolation from the centers of civilization.

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In any case, San is remembered with affection and reverence on Mokil as a "good man" who brought the people their first knowledge of Christianity. It is said that he told the people about God, and he may have been responsible for the construction of the "Church" which, according to the reports of navigators in the 1850's, existed on Mokil before the first contact with missionaries. According to the present Mokilese a miracle occurred when the natives killed San at the instigation of Luke. He and the other two men were purportedly taken outside the reef, rocks tied to their feet, and they were dropped into the sea. San is reported to have disappeared from sight and then shot up to the surface again some minutes later where he clung to the gunwale of his murderers' boat and consigned his soul to God before again disappearing beneath the ocean. From that time, say present informants, the Mokilese were "Christians."

Luke, the man allegedly responsible for San's death, was reputedly a "bad man." Apparently he was a homosexual and something of a sadist. When the Mokilese asked him for tobacco he sometimes required homosexual services from them or beat them before giving the tobacco. It is said, too, that when a Mokilese brought him a present of food Luke was as likely to beat him as to thank him.

Two or three years after these events, sometime between 1832 and 1838, Luke, Frank and Charlie supposedly left Mokil on another whaling ship. At about this time, around 1835 to 1838, a white man known as Jim came to live on Mokil. Jim is supposedly the man who, along with King Lalawa and two or three other Mokil men, was drowned in an attempt to catch a whaling ship by paddling canoe in an effort to replenish Jim's supply of tobacco. From the genealogy of kings this event would appear to have occurred close to 1840. It is disconcerting to read a very similar account told on January 15, 1853 by a white man who called himself Lucien Huntington, then resident on Mokil, that a man named Lacy had been drowned about a year and a half before together with four Mokilese men when their outrigger canoe capsized as they attempted to return to Mokil from a visit to a whaling ship.<sup>1</sup> It is

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<sup>1</sup> Nautical Magazine, 1854, "Narrative of the voyage of H.M.S. 'Serpent', Commander L. U. Hammet". Page 194.

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possible that Hammet's account is confused, that the event has been put back in time by the Mokilese to cover some less creditable form of death which Jim may have met, or that there were two similar accidents separated by twelve or thirteen years. It seems odd, however, that the older event would be remembered and the more recent one forgotten. This might be explained by the fact that the king of Mokil was also drowned on the earlier occasion.

There is another entry on the genealogical charts which may lend support, at least in part, to the dates ascribed for the foregoing events. This is the statement that a white sailor named Luke married the youngest daughter of Leshomos, Kashirodu', and took her as well as two brothers, one immediately older and one immediately younger than her, away from Mokil. Today's traditions say that these three children of Leshomos fled Mokil after his death to escape the feuding which followed that event. According to my reconstruction Leshomos was killed about

1820 when his eldest son, Langenmwun, was a young unmarried man. Leshemos had eleven children and it is quite possible that the youngest was a tiny baby or even unborn at the time of his death. The daughter, Kashirodu', was probably, therefore, born shortly before 1820 and would have reached puberty in the period between 1830 and 1835 when Luke supposedly came to Mokil and caused the murder of the three Englishmen. It may be, if the two Lukes were the same man, that within a couple of years after this event Luke began to fear retaliation from the people of Mokil and that he left the island for that reason, taking the three youngest children of Leshemos with him. It is also possible that, inasmuch as the two young sons of Leshemos who accompanied him in his flight from Mokil were by this time getting old enough to be fair game for the feudists, they feared they would be wiped out as potential claimants for the kingship. It seems entirely possible although unprovable that the killing of the white men and Luke's part in it may have been connected with the feuding which apparently started five to ten years before they came to Mokil.

A curious omission in the Mokil legends of early white contact is that there apparently is no recollection of the six months' visit James O'Connell claims he made there sometime prior to 1836.<sup>1</sup> O'Connell, incidentally, said that in his day the people of Mokil were in the habit of visiting Ponape, bringing presents of mats, fruit and other articles and that the Ponapeans could not repay the visits because their canoes were not sufficiently seaworthy nor were the Ponapeans sufficiently skilled mariners to make the voyage. O'Connell went to Mokil with a party from there who were returning by outrigger canoe after a visit to Ponape. O'Connell makes a few statements about Mokil culture of the period, but I am dubious of his allegation that there were "three castes of people as at Ponape". This may refer to the three lineages descended from Lashabo, Okatau and Mwenshonit. I likewise

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<sup>1</sup>. I have not yet been able to examine O'Connell's book, A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands. Boston, 1836. My references to it are from excerpts kindly supplied by the Cross-Cultural Survey at Yale University and do not indicate the date O'Connell claims to have visited Mokil.

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doubt his statement that the Mokilese of that day had an "ungovernable passion" for cannibalism so that they ate not only war captives, but that parents presented their children to the chiefs for culinary purposes. O'Connell also states the people all lived on one island, probably Karlap. (The Mokilese say that before the great typhoon people lived on all three islets. Thereafter everyone lived on Karlap until the decade beginning about 1850. For that period they all lived on Manton, to be near the visiting whaling ships which hove to in the lee of Manton. After the whalers ceased coming in quantity everyone moved back to Karlap). O'Connell clearly indicates the possibility of white residents on Mokil as early as 1825 or 1830 when he mentions that Mokil was visited oftener by ships than Ponape as evidenced by "bits of hoop iron, an officer's coat and other articles in the possession of the islanders."

After the contact described by Lesson in 1824, and O'Connell, pre-1838, I have so far found no further written reference to Mokil until 1852 although I hope eventually to locate the logs of whaling ships or other manuscript material which may throw light on this gap of approximately twenty years. The 1852 visit was made by N. J. Andersson on November 21 of that year.<sup>1</sup> He states the population

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1. As reported in Ein Weltumseglung mit der Schwedischen Kriegsfregatte "Eugenie," 1851-53.

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numbered eighty-seven at that time. Andersson reports that his ship was met by a European <sup>whale</sup> ~~small~~ boat in which were two Americans and a number of natives. The excerpts of his book I have seen do not give the names of these two men, but do give a little information about them and the acculturative situation on Mokil to which they doubtless contributed. The native wives of the two men are described as being clothed in cotton smocks with red cloths thrown about their shoulders. They were smoking clay pipes. According to Andersson the two "Americans" had arrived about six months before his visit and established themselves as "lords." He says they were carrying on trade with whaling vessels, supplying them with pigs, chickens and vegetable foods and that they were making as much as \$40 per month out of this trade. According to Andersson they were giving the Mokil people only a "little tobacco, gin and cloth." This comment, incidentally, is supported by Mokil tradition which says the white men who resided on Mokil during the whaling days and acted as interpreters and advisers to the kings of the period were suspected by the Mokilese of keeping most of the proceeds for the food and other goods, including women, they were instrumental in supplying to the whaling ships. Apparently the white men must have taken some of the payment in money and some in goods, passing part of the latter only on to the Mokilese. Andersson also says: "A spacious church is evidence that there has been a missionary here at one time." He was, of course, quite erroneous in this assumption. The legendary early white man, San, may have been instrumental in its construction.

Mrs. Theodore Crosby Bliss, however, apparently quoting from missionary records after the first mission contact in 1857, says: "...they were surprised to find a small chapel and people observing the Sabbath....It seems that several years previous a resident trader (white man) in a quarrel had killed his only fellow foreigner. This aroused his conscience and he reformed and tried to help the natives, telling them all he knew of Christianity, which was but little."<sup>2</sup>

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2. Micronesia. A History of the Mission of the American Board. 1906.

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This story suggests the possibility that Luke, the early white man who reputedly instigated the killing of three other white men including San, may actually have been responsible for the construction of the church.



Andersson was followed a few months later at Mokil by H. M. S. "Serpent", commanded by L. U. Hammet who touched there on January 15, 1853.<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, Hammet says, perhaps mistakenly, that Andersson

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1. Nautical Magazine, 1854, "Narrative of the voyage of H. M. S. 'Serpent', Commander L. U. Hammet."

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visited Mokil on October 6, 1852 rather than November 21 as indicated by Andersson's account. Hammet gives the names of the two white men he found on Mokil, who were undoubtedly the same two men found there a few months earlier by Andersson. The names given by Hammet were Lucien Huntington, who claimed to be an American, and James Walker, an Englishman. No such names are remembered by modern Mokilese. I strongly suspect these names were aliases and that they were the two men known to Mokilese as John Higgins, a native of Massachusetts with brothers living in Hawaii, and Jack Smith, a native of Liverpool, England. At this point in Mokil history, according to native information, the two latter men were strongly entrenched as "advisors" to King Sharkiben, and had a monopoly on the trade with whaling ships. I will discuss what is remembered of the activities of these two men below, let us now return to Hammet's account.

Lucien Huntington told Hammet that he had been living on Mokil about eight months, and Hammet understood him to say that he had bought one of the islands from the natives. My record of property transactions shows that not John Higgins, who I think was "Lucien Huntington", but Jake Smith, who I believe to have been "James Walker", owned property on Mokil. He had bought, not an entire island, but a small area, Lot 28B, on Manton as a house site, from his wife's cousin once removed, Jacob.

It was Huntington who told Hammet about the drowning of the man named Lacy which sounds so much like the death of Jim. But whereas by my reckoning Jim died around 1840, Lacy was said by Huntington to have died about the middle of 1851. Hammet was apparently looking for several missing men including a "Mr. Dowset"<sup>2</sup> and apparently questioned

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2. See page 79 for the account of "Jali Dosis," who I think was a man named Sturges, nephew of the Ponape missionary, who came to Mokil after the Christianization of the 1860's. Conceivably, Jali Dosis may have been the Mr. Dowset sought by Hammet.

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Huntington rather closely about Lacy. He reports that Huntington told him Lacy had come to Mokil of his own free will more than two years before and had not been a prisoner there, although Huntington understood Lacy had been a prisoner on some other island. It seems quite possible, if I am correct in thinking the name Huntington was an alias being used by John Higgins, that the man may have had something to hide and consequently may have played fast and loose in telling Hammet a number of untruths. It may be, that for reasons of his own, Higgins advanced the death of Lacy ten years or more. It is even possible, since by

his own story Huntington had not reached Mokil when Lacy died, that Huntington himself misunderstood the date of the drowning as told him by the Mokilese. In any case Hammet was impressed by the authority evidently accorded the two white men for he spoke of Mokil as being ".....completely under the control of Huntington and an Englishman named James Walker who lives with him."

The mission stations of the Boston Mission Society (now the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) were established on Ponape beginning in 1852. The mission ship, "Morning Star", did not visit Mokil, however, until September 22, 1857. A letter from George Pierson, who was present and went ashore on the occasion, states that the missionaries found two white men living on Mokil, named Higgins and Spencer. (Again there is no Mokil tradition of a white man named Spencer. I suspect this is another alias adopted by Jack Smith.) Higgins told Pierson that he had been living there "several years." Pierson observed that Higgins "...has control of the island with shipping."<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, Mr. Pierson said that there were then living

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from George Pierson to Rev. R. Anderson, dated December 4, 1857. Excerpts supplied by the courtesy of The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

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on Mokil about thirty people who had come from Ralik (Marshall Islands) some eighteen months earlier. These may be the Marshallese referred to in present legends on Mokil as the two canoe loads of a war party that refused to attack Pingelap and proceeded instead peaceably to Mokil. (See page 68).

Captain Moore, commander of the "Morning Star", reporting his observation of this first missionary contact, stated that Higgins approached the vessel in a whale boat rowed by natives.<sup>2</sup> Moore also

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<sup>2</sup> Nautical Magazine, 1858, Page 453.

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stated that Higgins told him he had been living on Mokil for three years, since 1854. Moore further observed that coconut oil was being manufactured "to some extent" on Mokil.

Let us now leave the reports in the literature to consider the sketchily remembered careers of the two men, Jack Smith and John Higgins, as they are reported by modern Mokil informants. When Jack Smith first came to Mokil he married Hengeniju, a daughter of Leshemos. Since Leshemos was killed about 1820 by my reconstruction, Hengeniju must have been born before that time. By some accounts Hengeniju was the second sibling in Leshemos' family and by other accounts she was the fifth. If she was the second child she could hardly have been born later than 1805. If she was the fifth child she may have been born as late as 1815. If we assume that Jack Smith, like most white men taking native wives, preferred one who was young and "tender", the

implication would be that he must have married Hengeniju not much after 1830.

On the other hand it is to be noted that of fifteen recorded marriages of white men to Mokil women (or "loans" of women which resulted in offspring) eight of the unions were with women of the Lashabo line, four with women of the Mwenshonit line, and only three with women of the Okatau line although its population was intermediate in size between the Lashabo and Mwenshonit lines. This suggests the possibility that the prestige of early white men on Mokil was such that the natives felt matches with them should be made from the two families of ancient sacred chiefs and not from the Okatau line which had less prestige. In this event it may be that Jack Smith perforce accepted an older woman from the senior branch of the Lashabo line. In that event his marriage, which we may assume coincided fairly closely with his arrival on Mokil, may have occurred in the early 1840's.<sup>1</sup> Smith and Hengeniju had three children, two sons and a

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<sup>1</sup> Informants told me that Hengeniju lived until the time of the 1905 typhoon. She must have been at least ninety years old when she died. Her granddaughter, Sarah (Jera), who must have been born about 1860, died in June, 1947, just before we reached Mokil. These life spans, plus that of Opet, still reasonably alert at the age of eighty-nine, suggest the longevity enjoyed by some individuals on Mokil.

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daughter.

When the daughter was of marriageable age, probably somewhere around 1855 to 1860, Jack Smith, her father, took her to wife while still married to her mother, Hengeniju. Latter-day informants say this action scandalized the Mokil people but there was nothing they could do about it because Jack Smith was such a "big man." At about the same time Jack Smith married another young girl named Mary (Meri). Jack Smith had four children by Mary, the third of whom, a boy, eventually became the father of Christopher (Kiristoba), a man at present in early middle age and head of one of the paneyneys on Mokil.

Jack's favorite wife, according to legend, was his daughter, Monpwo. He nevertheless loaned her to a white friend, one Captain Week who is currently believed to have fathered Sarah, the granddaughter of Hengeniju mentioned in the footnote above. Monpwo died as a very young woman, probably hardly over twenty years of age. Her death is of more than ordinary interest because she is reputed to have been the last person whose body was eviscerated after death and preserved by the ancient method of rubbing it inside and out with tumeric and drying it on a rack near the large taro patch on Karlap. Today's story is that the missionaries, on their first visit to Mokil, observed her drying body and in shocked consternation ordered the abandonment of this "heathenish" practice. This event is supposed to have originated the practice of interring corpses on Mokil.<sup>2</sup> I am not

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<sup>2</sup> According to present informants burial was not practiced on Mokil until this missionary edict was issued. The dried and preserved bodies were reportedly hung around the walls of the family dwelling houses.



sure whether Monpwo's preserved body was seen by the missionaries in their 1857 visit or at some later visit in the 1860's. The Mokil people today have no recollection of the 1857 visit, but insist that Sharkiben's trip to Ponape in 1862 was the first direct contact the Mokilese had with Christianity.

The chief point of this sequence of events is to suggest that Jack Smith must have come to Mokil between 1840 and 1845. He is credited with having been Sharkiben's chief confidant and advisor, as well as interpreter, throughout his reign (1845-1869). He continued to serve Mak in the same capacity until the early 1870's. He went out of favor soon after Zacharias, the man who succeeded Mak as king, returned from his ten years' experience on a whaling ship. Zacharias purportedly had visited Liverpool in the course of his travels, and had there made inquiry about Jack Smith who told the Mokil people he was a "big man" in Liverpool. Zacharias concluded, when he could find no one who had ever heard of Jack Smith in Liverpool, that Jack was a fraud. Upon his return to Mokil he convinced Mak of the same viewpoint and Jack was ousted from the sinecure he had held for something like thirty years. Jack, however, continued to live with his paneyney in Mokil and reputedly stayed there until about 1890, by which time he must have been at least seventy years old. One of my informants, a man now sixty-one years old, claims he remembers, as a very small child, seeing Jack Smith. When Jack Smith left Mokil he disappeared from the people's ken and nothing is known of what happened to him thereafter.

The genealogical charts suggest that John Higgins came to Mokil at least ten or fifteen years after Jack Smith. The date of 1854 which Higgins gave the missionaries in their 1857 visit as the time of his arrival at Mokil is genealogically satisfactory, as is also the date of 1852 which is when the man Huntington, who may have been Higgins, told Hammet he had arrived on Mokil. Higgins' wife was Sarah (Jera), a first cousin of Jack Smith's original wife but probably a full generation younger inasmuch as Sarah's father, Lanelung, was reputedly born long after his elder brothers, Sinipo and Leshemos. It will be recalled that Lanelung, in fact, was supposed to have been born many years after his purported father died. George Higgins, the present "Number 2 king", born in 1890, is the grandson of John Higgins.

John Higgins still enjoys the reputation on Mokil of having been a genuine "big man". When he came to Mokil he had been some sort of an officer, not a common sailor, aboard a ship. Higgins' family purportedly came originally from Massachusetts, but at the time he resided in Mokil they were in Hawaii where they allegedly still live as one of the old monied families of the island. One son of Higgins' and a Mokil woman, Henry, reputedly left Mokil as a young man to join his father's paneyney in Hawaii and stayed there all his life. His other son, the father of the present "Number 2 king", visited John Higgins'

relatives in Hawaii in the 1880's.

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I have not yet had the opportunity to attempt tracing back John Higgins' connections in Hawaii and other recorded connections in Chicago, Illinois. I have hopes there may be family documents which will shed further light on this period of Mokil's history.

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John Higgins apparently found Jack Smith securely entrenched as the confidential advisor of the king. It seems equally evident, however, that Jack Smith recognized John Higgins' "quality" and consented to some sort of a working agreement. According to present belief on Mokil Higgins intended to put a ship channel through the reef, take possession of Mokil, and reduce all its inhabitants to the status of "working men." It seems evident that Higgins did become something of a small time industrialist on Mokil. He organized the processing of coconut oil as reported by Captain Moore of the "Morning Star", and employed the services of many Mokil women in the processing. The Mokilese say that he also paid fees to the captains of whaling ships who brought women from the Marshalls and Gilberts to add to his working staff. The genealogical charts tend to confirm this inasmuch as the immigration of women from these areas to Mokil appears to be far heavier during the general period John Higgins was on the island than at any time before or since.

While Higgins' only son by Sarah, Johnnie (Jani), was still a small boy, Higgins left his family on Mokil, went to Pingelap where he married another woman by whom he had another child, Tommy (Tami). While Higgins was living in Pingelap he was killed, allegedly in a drunken brawl, by a man from the Gilbert Islands named Kibwey.

After Higgins' death, his Mokil widow, Sarah, married a Pingelap man who had come to Mokil to live. They joined the household of King Sharkiben who took a fancy to Sarah after she had borne one son to the Pingelap man. Sharkiben thereupon sent the alien back home and took Sarah as his third wife. This occurred before Sharkiben's conversion in 1862. Sarah, Sharkiben's youngest wife, was the one he kept when, in deference to his conversion, he discarded two of his three wives. These facts would indicate that Higgins must have left Mokil shortly after the mission ship called there in 1857, and that he was probably dead by 1860.

Another interesting white man who spent many years on Mokil is known to the Mokilese as "Jali Dosis". The first name was easily identified as Charlie, but the surname was puzzling until informants told me he was a nephew of and had the same name as the missionary who was head of the Kiti station in Ponape when Sharkiben was converted to Christianity. Charles Sturges probably came to Mokil sometime in the late '60's or early '70's. By his own account he had fled from Boston, Massachusetts apparently to escape scandal and possibly prosecution. His story was that he had been married in Boston, and that on one occasion he and his wife had been "playing" when he tickled her so much she died. Sturges apparently fled to Ponape sometime after

his uncle had set up a mission station there (1852). It is to be noted that prior to 1887 there was no pretense at any effective government in the Eastern Carolines by colonial powers, and undoubtedly a fugitive would have been completely safe from extradition. Charles Sturges is said to have purchased one of the small islands inside the Ponape reef and to have lived there, not at the mission station, for some years before coming to Mokil. He moved to Mokil, for reasons unknown, almost certainly after the missionization of that island.

He married Shalis (Jalis), the woman who, some twenty-five or more years earlier had borne Mak, son of the legendary white man San. During the interval Shalis had been married to a Marshall islander and had borne him one son. Shalis and Charles Sturges had two sons and two daughters.

Sturges apparently did not play the dominating role in Mokil that characterized John Higgins and Jack Smith, the other two white men who spent many years on the island. He did serve Mak for several years as interpreter and contact man with the Copra Traders after Jack Smith was demoted in the middle 1870's. But he had seemingly turned his back on civilization, and was not interested in thrusting Western ways upon the Mokilese. It is claimed, in fact, that he was bitterly opposed to the missionaries, including his uncle. He wanted his own children to be reared as natives, and refused to accede to the pleas of his uncle and other missionaries that he take training and become a missionary on Mokil.

It is said, in fact, that so bitter was his opposition to the missionaries and to the idea of having his children trained in missionary schools that he was broken in body and spirit when his daughter Caroline (Karlain) was taken from him to the mission school in Ponape. According to present accounts this event completely prostrated Sturges. It is said that the morning after the mission ship took her away Charles Sturges was unable to arise from his bed or to talk intelligibly. He is said to have continued in this condition until he died, many years later, on Mokil. Shalis is credited with having cared faithfully for Sturges during the ensuing many years of his hopeless invalidism until his death.

Sturges' two daughters both made good marriages to Mokil men. Karlain, the elder, married Johnny Ekins who was appointed Number 2 king under the Germans. The younger daughter, who is still alive, also married a man who is well to do by Mokil standards. The sons of these two women both have prosperous panyneys on Mokil today. Their successful marriages, in spite of the fact that neither Charles Sturges nor his wife Shalis had any appreciable amount of land on Mokil probably indicates that the prestige of being half white was still in effect.



Sturges' two sons, Frank (Baraik) and Phillip (Belep), did not fare so well, however, both married and had several children, but since their parents had little land to give them, both became dependents or "working men". Both men eventually drifted away from Mokil, perhaps forced out because of their inability to live successfully or respectably on the island without property. Baraik's two sons likewise made fresh starts, one on Kusaie and one in the Mortlock Islands. Two of Baraik's daughters married Mokil men. But there is no paneyney on Mokil today which counts itself as descended from Baraik. Belep's son, Joseph, still lives on Mokil and is officially listed as the head of a paneyney. He lives, however, as his father did, as a dependent with the family of the king. It is to be noted that King August's grandfather, Mak, was Phillip's half brother. On this kinship basis Phillip and his son Joseph have been permitted to live as part of the king's paneyney. The little land which Joseph owned has been virtually incorporated into king's property, and it seems very unlikely that Joseph will ever be able to establish his own independent paneyney.

The experiences of the Mokilese with white men, especially Jack Smith and John Higgins, initiated them to the joys of trading over a long period beginning about 1830. Sometime during this period, perhaps as late as 1835, the approximate period when copra trading began, the Mokilese gave up entirely the manufacturing of aboriginal banana fiber<sup>in</sup> favor of manufactured cloth obtained through trade. Before discussing the events of the initiation into copra trading, however, let us examine the period of Christianization.

#### Missionary Activities and Influences on Mokil.

This section, like the preceding one, suffers from the fact that as yet I have had the opportunity to glean only a small part of the material I believe to be available in the literature and unpublished documents and letters.

I have already cited the reports of Captain Moore and George Pierson concerning the initial missionary contact with Mokil when the mission ship "Morring Star" called there in September, 1857. (See page 76 .) It will also be recalled that at some prior time the various white men who lived on Mokil had told the natives something about Christianity, and one of them had induced the natives to build a "church." Also, according to Mrs. Bliss, at the time of this first missionary visit the Mokilese were already in the habit of observing Sunday as a day of rest, and reputedly had "destroyed all their idols." I have also quoted earlier (See footnote page 63 .), an excerpt from the journal of the Reverend A. A. Sturges, under the date of September 20, 1862, referring to the occasion when Sharkiben fled from his Mokil enemies to Ponape for conversion to Christianity.

The Reverend Sturges describes as follows a second visit made by Sharkiben to Ponape on January 24, 1864: "The king of Wellington island has been with us today; he seemed much interested and impressed with our exercises. He<sup>is</sup> spending the night with us, and is quite

interested in the talks and prayers of our christians. I think much of him; he was here a little more than a year ago, and does not forget what he then saw and learned. The changes among his people there are wonderful; all are learning to read. All strictly keep the Sabbath, and I hope now the king will go back, and start his people to pray. The two white men living there (John Higgins and Jack Smith) are moral; and set many good examples, but not knowing God from the heart, and never praying they can only teach the people in part. My heart goes out for them; the king would gladly take back a Ponape teacher, but it hardly seems best to spare one now."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Letter from A. A. Sturges to Mr. Clarke, courtesy American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

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So far, I have found no record of an incident reported by the Mokilese when the Reverend Doane, in charge of missionary activities in the early days in Ponape, visited Mokil on the "Morning Star", and stayed there a week. It was on this occasion that Mr. Doane supposedly saw the body of Monpwo (daughter and also wife of Jack Smith, the English sailor, see page 77), eviscerated and being preserved by drying in the aboriginal fashion. According to the Mokil account, Mr. Doane was horrified by this sight. He not only gave orders that all corpses should be properly buried henceforth, but also ordained that all the tumeric plants which at that time grew in the vicinity of the main taro patch on Karlap, and were used in the preservation of corpses, should be destroyed. His orders were carried out and henceforth, to the present day, no tumeric is grown on Mokil.

One unexpected result of Mr. Doane's edict requiring burial of the dead was the general contamination of the Mokil water supply. In those days water was obtained from very shallow wells, dug to just below the ground water level where the fresh water percolating into the porous coral debris floated on top the tidal salt water and rose and fell with the tide. It is today, and presumably was also in the past century, the Mokil practice to bury the dead on paneyney land, frequently close to the residential site. If we assume, as the evidence seems to indicate, that aboriginally burial was seldom or never practiced, the new custom must have been hazardous indeed to the people whose sources of water for washing and drinking came to be located in the vicinity of graves.

My preliminary acquaintance with the missionary records discloses no reference to this purported visit by the Reverend Doane. I hope that a communication from him or other members of his party will eventually turn up and that it will throw additional light on the contemporary Mokil culture as well as possibly other acculturative influence exerted by the missionaries. This visit of the Reverend Doane to Mokil probably occurred between the years 1864, when Mr. Sturges made his reference to the second visit of Sharkiben to Ponape, and 1872, when Mr. Sturges describes briefly what may have been his first visit to Mokil.

Mr. Sturges' report of his contact with Mokil in 1872 appears in a letter quoted in the Missionary Herald<sup>1</sup>: "On the passage down

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<sup>1</sup>Volume 68, 1872, Page 151. The actual date of this visit may have been 1871 as reported by William E. Strong, History of the American Board. Boston. 1910: "In 1871 effort was made to place Ponapean teachers on Mokil and Pingelap.... they were received at Mokil."

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from Honolulu I called at Mc Askill and Wellington Island (Pingelap and Mokil), two small atolls between this and Strong's Island [Kusie]. I was amazed at the swarms of natives on the former, especially at the very large proportion of infants. I called the chief and people together and proposed to send missionaries to them from Ponape. They seemed pleased with the plan, as they did also at Mokil. We are expecting to send two couples to Pingelap and to Mokil by return of the "Morning Star". Excerpts from three other letters written by Mr. Sturges appear in the Missionary Herald, Volume 69, 1873, Pages 51-52. The reports contain the following comments: "We hear good reports of our teachers on Mokil (Wellington Island), put there last October. Providence has also provided for Pingelap (Mc Askill Island). I have a class of five of these interesting natives, with one I brought back from Mokil. Three of these men (and I have some hope of a fourth) give pretty good evidence of a sincere love for God. They are learning fast and intend to go back to teach their countrymen.

"September 21. The Morning Star downed upon us last Sabbath afternoon.... The king of Mokil, and several others, with their wives, came along, with the teachers left there last year, to be organized into a church. We shall attend to them next week. Mr. Doane's Renan church had called my old Kiti teacher, Taitoj, to take his place, but as he has concluded to remain, Taitoj can be spared and the Mokil church will give him a call. Two of the best Pingelap natives will go in the Star to see what they can do there. Others will remain to be in my special class; as will also some who have come down from Mokil.

"September 25. We have today organized a Mokil church of twelve members, their king among them. The occasion has been one of very special interest. They return to let their light shine on that lovely islet."

The Ponape "teacher" had some <sup>c</sup>aculturative influences on Mokil which were probably not known to the American missionaries. One of these was the introduction of Ponape ideas of chiefly titles. He persuaded the Mokilese to establish the titles of Washai and Tauk which



had not previously existed on Mokil. These titles, in Ponape, are the titles immediately below Nanmarki in rank. The latter is the supreme title in the sacred line of chiefs. (On Ponape a chief in the sacred line progresses through a graded series of about twelve titles before achieving the supreme title of Nanmarki. On Ponape there is a parallel heirarchy of Secular titles. An individual chief cannot shift from one heirarchy to the other). Early in the reign of Mak (1869 to 1879) the Ponape missionary persuaded the Mokilese to establish such a succession through Tauk and Washai to nanau or king.

Informants say that the first Washai was Kamere who was thus slated to succeed Mak as king. Zacharias returned from his globe girdling adventures as a whaler before Mak died, however, and exerted his rank as Kamere's older brother, and probably also the prestige accruing from his experiences, to displace Kamere as Washai. At this time the Tauk was Isaac. When Zacharias became king upon Mak's death Isaac succeeded to the title of Washai, and Peter became the Tauk. Peter moved up in turn when Isaac succeeded Zacharias as king, and Rubin was installed as Tauk. Rubin became insane, so he never advanced beyond the rank of Tauk. Paul succeeded Peter as Washai, and later as king.

About this time, around the turn of the century, the Mokilese permitted the alien method of chiefly progression to fall into disuse. It is probably significant that the Mokilese accepted this method of succession of kings only during what was essentially an interregnum period when Mak's son, Joel, was growing to adulthood. As a footnote to the discussion of kingly succession on an earlier page, this arrangement would make it appear that even during the interval between the reigns of Mak and Joel the people did not have as much voice in choosing the king as they like to think they do have.

The next missionary reference to Mokil of which I have information is a report by Mr. Doane which appeared in the Missionary Herald in 1888.<sup>1</sup> The report in the newspaper states: "Pingelap and Mokil.

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<sup>1</sup>. Volume 84, Page 347.

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In the brief report concerning these two islands, Mr. Doane says:--'About Christmas time we made a short visit to Mokil and Pingelap. There is not a little there to cheer. The native teacher at the latter island keeps his forces well in hand. The People respect him much. His education is limited, but he does love Jesus and works hard for him. At the Communion nine were received to the church, two restored. At Mokil there is less to cheer. A worldly spirit is creeping into the church. The passion to trade is strong and is leading to certain social habits that are wrong. The people have, for so small an island, much to sell. One sad difficulty the people and church labor under is that the head man in the church, a sort of teacher, is totally blind and unedu-

cated. He has but little to draw on, and the reading he hears from the Bible he but poorly comprehends. But his heart is in the work. He is humble, yet faithful, and the Lord is with him." The blind teacher referred to by Mr. Doane was our old friend Shamweylik, who had been a leader in the feuding and king killing over a half a century before, and who, a decade later, conceded that the enemies of his youth were entitled to kill him in revenge. (See page 64.) Mr. Doane's complaint about the "worldly spirit" and "passion to trade" undoubtedly reflect the avidity with which the Mokilese entered the copra trade when the first trading schooners began to operate in that vicinity about 1875. Quite possibly the "wrong" social habits referred to by Mr. Doane involved, among other things, the emergence of strict individual rights in land use and a rapid growth of commercial as opposed to communal attitudes which were one of the early products of the copra trade. These matters will be discussed in the next section.

When the Spanish administrators arrived at Ponape in 1887 to begin actual colonial administration of the Eastern Carolines for the first time, the American Congregational missionaries found themselves in immediate difficulties. The Spaniards had brought a group of Catholic missionaries with them, and were intent upon replacing the Protestant faith with Catholicism. There followed a series of political intrigues and conflicts, culminating in the expulsion of all the American missionaries from Ponape in 1890.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>. Civil Affairs Handbook, East Caroline Island, OPNAV P22-5, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department.

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During this period, according to James N. Alexandor: "As serious trouble was inevitable, the missionary ladies, Misses Palmer, Fletcher and Foss, Mrs. Cole, Mrs. Rand, with eleven pupils, took passage to Mokil."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Rand followed the ladies and pupils to Mokil where the

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<sup>2</sup>. The Islands of the Pacific. Second Edition, New York American Tract Society. 1908.

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school was reestablished, apparently officially in 1892. At least, as of 1894, the Missionary Herald reports that Mr. and Mrs. Rand had been in Mokil two years, and that "there have been signs of progress."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>. Volume 90, 1894, Page 250.

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Unfortunately, when I was on Mokil I did not know that the mission school actually operated on Mokil for two or three years in the '90's. I did learn that Mr. and Mrs. Rand and a couple of missionary

ladies had been refugees on Mokil for several years. The main thing my informants remembered about this period was the fierce determination with which Mr. Rand, particularly, insisted upon all the Mokilese being fully clothed at all times. Present informants told me that if he encountered even very small boys and girls running about nude he would pick them up by one ear and shake them in the air while he lectured them on the evils of nudity. Undoubtedly additional significant material could be gathered from Mokil by adequate questioning about this period. I have high hopes, also, that Mr. Rand or some of the other missionaries who lived there as refugees, may have submitted letters or reports that would give some insight into the cultural situation of the time.

The final item on the Missionizing of Mokil is from the Missionary Herald of 1896.<sup>1</sup> This article reads: "Mokil and Nigelap.

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<sup>1</sup> Volume 92, Page 241.

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Miss Foss, who labored on Mokil while Mr. and Mrs. Rand were there and then came to Kusaie, visited those islands on the Star, for the purpose of encouraging the native teachers and churches. She was surprised and rejoiced at what she saw, giving great credit to the teachers, who had done their best, and she speaks of the work as prospering in every respect." This item would seem to imply that considerable change was wrought in Mokil by the resident missionaries during the first half of the 1890's.

#### The Copra Trade.

The copra trade on Mokil appears to have been one of the very strongest acculturative factors, especially in terms of land use. Present informants state that it was the developing copra trade which caused the breakdown in the old time communal use of land and substituted the present strictly private land use. Here again I have not had adequate opportunity to explore documentary sources so the present account must be considered as preliminary.

The first copra trader visited Mokil several years after Sharkiben died, while Mak was king. This would be, according to the closely estimated date of Sharkiben's death, ~~and~~ within a year or two, plus or minus, of 1875. Barter trade with whaling ships had, of course, been occurring for thirty or forty years before this time. The whalers had been interested primarily in fresh meat, vegetables and fruits. They had apparently taken quantities of green coconuts and some coconut oil processed from ripe nuts, but no copra.



As shown in Table IV, the first copra trader to visit Mokil

Table IV

Development of the Copra Trade  
(Dates estimated in collaboration  
with Mokil informants)

First copra trader (Henderson and MacFarlane Co., of New Zealand, perhaps also called the Union Jack Co.).....	1875
Withdrawal of Henderson and MacFarlane (?), coincident with the death of King Mak.....	1879
Tom Day installed as resident trader, perhaps by Capelle Co., Marshall Islands (by Henderson and MacFarlane?).....	1880
Tom Day expelled for cheating, simultaneous with the beginning of competitive buying of copra by four different companies. Several Mokil men set up as resident traders. Families begin to cut copra exclusively from their own land.....	1882
Capelle Co. and O'Keefe cease trading on Mokil.....	1885
Captain Chambers buying copra on contract for Harnsheim Co., Marshall Islands, while Melinder (American) trades on his own from headquarters in Kusaie..... (until) .....	1887
Establishment of Jaluit Company as copra monopoly by the German Government.....	1887

was apparently a schooner owned or chartered by the New Zealand firm of Henderson and Mac Farlane. According to the Mokilese this ship was named the Misaba, her Captain's name was Robertson and her Mate was a man whose name sounds like Deed. Supplementary information, furnished by Mr. Angus Ross of King's College, Cambridge, England 1.

<sup>1</sup> In a personal letter dated October 15, 1948.

tends to verify this estimated date. According to Mr. Ross' information the firm of Henderson and Mac Farlane was founded in Auckland, New Zealand in 1846. Their field of operation apparently lay exclusively north and east of New Zealand and south of the Equator until the 1870's. Sometime between 1871 and 1873 they extended their activities to the area of Fiji and Samoa. Mr. Ross states: "It would appear that there was no New Zealand trade to speak of north of the Equator prior to 1876, since the New Zealand Herald on October 20, 1876, reported that

early that month the Vision had returned from a six months' cruise among the Line Islands. "The object of the vessel's voyage, on this occasion, was not so much trade as to open new channels for commercial relationships with the numerous islands in close proximity or northwards of the Line." Mr. Ross states that within a month several other ships left Auckland to trade among the Line Islands. He has no definite record of participation by Henderson and Mac Farlane in this new trade, but the evidence obtained on Mokil indicates they actually did participate.

According to the unverified Mokil story, the company disintegrated about the same time Mak died, 1879, and its assets in the Eastern Carolines were supposedly seized without payment by employees. Robertson and Deed allegedly operated the trading schooner as independent traders, a practice supposedly carried on by Deed after Robertson died.

Shortly after Mak's death some trading company, possibly the Capelle Company whose headquarters were in the Marshall Islands, although some informants say it was Henderson and Mac Farlane, established a white man named Tom Day as a resident trader on Mokil. He lasted two or three years during the early days of Zacharias' reign as king. The Mokilese discovered he had tampered with the weights of his beam scale so as to cheat the people on their copra sales. As a result he was expelled from the island.

It will be recalled that Jack Smith served Sharkiben as interpreter and confidant, and even maintained his place in Sharkiben's affections after Zacharias returned from his round the world whaling experiences and denounced him as a fraud. Jack Smith continued in the same relation to Mak during the first five or six years of Mak's reign. The copra trade began at about the same time that Zacharias finally convinced Mak of Jack Smith's untrustworthiness. Meanwhile Charles Sturges had come to Mokil, allegedly a few years before Sharkiben's death. Mak turned to him for assistance in the new copra trade. King August states that Sturges was a very honest man, and all the Mokil people trusted him implicitly.

During the four or five years Mak lived after the copra trade started, the cutting and selling of copra was carried out on a communal basis. Every family cut as much copra as was convenient, and everyone brought his copra to Mak. The actual dickering with the copra trader was handled by Sturges, who turned over all proceeds of the sale to Mak. It is doubtful whether money was involved in the trading; it seems more probable that clothing, food, tobacco, and perhaps steel tools were bartered for the copra. The trade goods were distributed by Mak among the paneyneys, not in terms either of the size of their land holdings or the amount of copra cut by each paneyney, but rather in terms of the number of people in a paneyney and their needs. If several men in one paneyney needed trousers they all might get them while another paneyney, whose men were well clothed, might receive none.

According to most informants this same form of communal copra trading continued for the first two or three years of Zacharias' reign as king. It was during this time that Tom Day was set up as resident trader by the company which had the monopoly on Mokil trade, perhaps still Henderson and Mac Farland or possibly the newcomer, Capelle. Perhaps coincident with the expulsion of Tom Day three or four separate trading companies began sending schooners to Mokil to compete for the copra trade. The names and locations of these traders given to me on Mokil were: the Capelle Company of Likiep Island in the Marshalls; O'Keefe with headquarters in Truk; Captain Melinder or Melander located on Kusaie; and Captain Chambers (the father of King August's mother) who operated out of the Marshalls, apparently on contract for the German firm of Hornsheim Company. Each of these companies appointed a different Mokil man as its local representative and trader. Capelle appointed Johnny Higgins, O'Keefe appointed Jonathan, Captain Chambers appointed Charlie Dennis (Joli Tanis), and Captain Melander appointed Peter.

According to King August it was this situation which led to the practice whereby each paneyney cut copra only on its own land and sold to the trader of its choice. Allegedly people were motivated partly by loyalty to near relatives who were traders and partly by considerations as to which trader was likely to give them the best price.

According to old Leren Anturu, the preacher emeritus, the events of this period were a little more complex. He says that even as early as the reign of Mak two Mokil men, both of whom owned large blocks of coconut land, began to cut copra from their own land and to prohibit others from doing so. These men were Johnnie Higgins, son-in-law of Charles Sturges who lived with him, and Charlie Dennis, like Johnnie Higgins, a son of one of the early white men on Mokil. It seems possible that Sturges felt a special kinship toward these two half white Mokilese, especially toward his own son-in-law, and that he explained to them the advantages of their retaining the entire produce of their comparatively large land holdings. According to Leren everyone else on Mokil continued to pool copra and accept Mak's division of the proceeds. According to Leren also, Charlie Dennis and Johnnie Higgins had informally set themselves up as traders to handle copra cut by their relatives even before Tom Day was stationed on Mokil as a resident trader. It is said that from the beginning they paid their relatives according to the amount of copra each supplied these native traders.

The competitive copra selling situation tended to encourage each paneyney to cut copra from its own land privately, both out of loyalty to relatives who had been set up as copra traders and out of profit considerations. The shift to emphasis on private ownership and utilization of coconut land fitted very well with what Zacharias had learned of white men's ways during his many years away from Mokil.



Therefore, either immediately upon his becoming king, or within a few years thereafter, he issued an edict that the communal method of selling copra would be discontinued, and that henceforth every paneyney would cut only from its own land and sell independently to the trader of its choice. Apparently at the same time Zacharias also decreed that the subsistence plants growing on coconut land were also the private property of the people who owned the various plots. He decreed that the people were no longer free to take pandanus, breadfruit, arrowroot, etc. from any land but their own because it was the fashion of the white man to call this stealing. He is said to have stated specifically that even if people had very little land and were poor, even hungry, they were not entitled to take food from the land of others. Zacharias, having apparently learned well the white man's lesson, said let such people go to work for other men and earn the right to eat.

Two of the Mokil traders, Charlie Dennis and Johnnie Higgins, continued to operate under the changing colonial regimes clear up into Japanese times (1914). Johnnie Higgins confined his operations to Mokil. Charlie Dennis, however, branched out and established a store in the neighboring atoll of Pingelap about 1902 or 1903, leaving his half brother, Jonathan, in charge of his Mokil store. After the typhoon of 1904 which destroyed most of the food plants on both Pingelap and Mokil, ~~CHARLIE DENNIS~~ sold merchandise in Pingelap at grossly excessive prices. It is said that he extracted whole plots of land in Pingelap from people who wanted a bit of food or tobacco. The German government apparently canceled all this gouging, and after a trial confined ~~CHARLIE DENNIS~~ to a prison colony in the Mortlock Islands where he remained during all the last years of the German occupation of the area. He was released, as an old man, when the Japanese took over. Charlie's only son, Schwab (Jouap) is now Mokil's richest man and has inherited his father's reputation for sharp trading practices and chicanery.

Jonathan, one of the other two early native traders, apparently dropped out of the trading until Charlie Dennis left him in charge of Dennis' Mokil store when he went to Pingelap. The trading experience of Peter, the same man who was king of Mokil from about 1890 to 1902, was neither happy nor successful. In the early 1880's he, like the other three men set up as traders on Mokil, was supplied with a stock of merchandise to trade for copra. Peter made the mistake of freely using the stock of his store to feed and clothe his family and friends. Within a short period he got himself heavily into debt through this practice. In order to get him out of debt, arrangements were made whereby he turned over the management of all of his copra land to Johnnie Higgins for a number of years. Johnnie Higgins applied the earnings to liquidate Peter's debt. A couple of men who were dependents of Peter's also helped him out by working several years without pay as sailors on the vessel owned by the trader whose goods Peter had consumed. At least one of these men had a good personal reason for this apparent sacrifice which throws an interesting sidelight on the complexity of motivations which may be involved in a seemingly simple situation of helpfulness on Mokil. This man had been committing

adultery with Peter's wife, and feared the effects of Peter's wrath if the fact became known to him. Consequently, in shipping without pay as a sailor to help liquidate Peter's debt, he removed himself from Peter's reach and at the same time greatly reduced the danger of Peter's wrath by doing him this good turn.

#### Acculturative Work Opportunities Subsequent to the Establishment of the Copra Trade.

Once established, the copra trade has continued at Mokil uninterrupted except for the dislocation caused by the two World Wars. By 1887 the German Government-sponsored Jaluit Company had established a monopoly over the copra trading in the Marshalls and the Eastern Caroline Islands. At least one of the Marshall Islands, Ujelang, was owned and operated by the Jaluit Company as a coconut plantation. From time to time they recruited individuals and families from other islands to go to Ujelang for several months at a time to cut copra on shares. Several Mokil individuals and families participated in this money earning opportunity. The same process was continued under the Japanese South Pacific Development Company which took over the assets of the Jaluit Company in 1914.

From the late 19th century on there were also opportunities to cut copra on shares for the native Nanpei family in Ponape who own a tremendous acreage of coconut land on that island. The Nanpeis, like the Germans and later Japanese companies, formerly sent ships around to recruit labor for their plantations. Numerous Mokil people worked for them at one time or another. The Nanpeis are universally condemned for cheating their workers in various ways such as overcharging for supplies at company stores. They also are charged with attempting to intimidate workers into serving longer than the original agreement called for and into accepting goods from the company store rather than cash at the termination of their contract term. No such abuses are charged against either the German or Japanese companies.

In addition to these opportunities several Mokilese obtained work as sailors on trading vessels or as assistants to white traders. These opportunities were sporadic, however, and did not bring much outside money to Mokil. Undoubtedly they did give individuals from Mokil opportunities to learn new techniques and new attitudes, and also to acquire new varieties of subsistence vegetable foods. Within the past fifty years or so a great many varieties of taro, bananas, pandanus and breadfruit have been imported into Mokil from more or less distant islands.

Probably the biggest opportunity for wage work for the Mokilese was offered by the Pacific Phosphate Company which recruited workers on Mokil for the phosphate mines on Hauru. The opportunity for such work came to Mokil in 1907, shortly after Captain Deed, who

had been one of the early copra traders with the Nukilese, became one of the managing force at Nauru. Until World War I, the Nauru phosphate mines were under control of the Germans. Australia took over in 1914 and greatly extended operations during the war. In the world wide influenza epidemic of 1917 hundreds of people died on Nauru, including at least ten or twelve people from Nukil. In 1918 the production on Nauru apparently ceased completely for several years. By the time it was resumed, in the '20's, the Japanese prohibited the recruiting of labor from their mandated territory.

The attraction of work in Nauru was not primarily the wages, which were low, but the large quantities of highly esteemed foreign foods that were supplied to workers. Each worker was given a fixed quantity of food per week from the commissary, and he was free to keep what he didn't eat and take it home at the termination of his three year work contract. In addition to the hoard of food thus collected, most workers apparently converted their salaries into food, clothing and other useful and ornamental objects before leaving Nauru at the end of their contract period. One of my informants reports that when he returned after a three year hitch at Nauru he brought back two cases of biscuits, three bags of rice, three cases of herring, two cases of corned beef and three bags of sugar. His relatives involved him in a number of feasts, which of course gave him a great deal of temporary prestige, but even so the food lasted five or six months.

For a few individuals work on Nauru gave an opportunity to escape for long periods from intolerable family situations or poverty due to inadequate land on Nukil. Steven, who is the eldest son of Opet, for example, worked at least ten years on Nauru. Steven, in spite of being his father's eldest son, is out of favor with the paneyney head and apparently has been all his life. During Steven's boyhood he was almost killed on two or three different occasions by his father's punishments. As a man Steven has been driven, in turn, to attack his father on at least two occasions. When Steven is on Nukil he is dependent upon his father both because the old man is the social and administrative head of the paneyney and because the old man controls all the land except a small amount brought to Steven by his wife as dowry. Steven is frightened, moreover, lest his father leave him out altogether when he divides the paneyney land before he dies. The fear seems to be well founded. If Steven gets no land from his father he will be unable to maintain himself and his family on the small amount of land brought to him by his wife. Working at Nauru thus gave Steven a chance to escape the intolerable family situation, and also to gain at least temporary economic independence. Unless another opportunity to work for wages or to emigrate from Nukil presents itself Steven will be in a very difficult position when his father dies and the paneyney headship goes to his second younger brother who shares his father's antagonism toward Steven.

Another economic and also acculturative opportunity was presented to the Nukil people by the German government in 1911. The Germans had just put down a native rebellion in the Tokas district of Ponape. The entire population of this district was removed



and shipped to other islands, and the land opened to the natives of near-by atolls such as Mokil, Pingolap, Ngatik and the Mortlocks, for settlement. About eleven or twelve Mokil paneynoys sent members to homestead portions of this land in 1911. In a few cases the individuals or families who settled in Sokas have established themselves as independent paneynoys claiming exclusive rights to the Sokas land, and more or less forfeiting their claim to family land on Mokil. In most cases, however, the division has not been so clear cut. Most families still regard the Mokil and Ponape branches as belonging to the same paneyney. Some of these families, as a matter of fact, exchange residences from time to time so that the Ponape segment will live on Mokil for several years while part or all of the Mokil segment move to Sokas. The Sokas settlement has given rise to several land disputes which will be discussed in the chapter on land transfers.

Interest in obtaining land in Sokas was comparatively low on Mokil in 1911. The population pressure on the land at Mokil was not nearly so high then as it is now, both because the total population of Mokil was smaller and because several families which had been moved away from Mokil after the 1905 typhoon had not yet returned. Inquiry made during our stay in Mokil disclosed that today interest would be much greater than it was in 1911 in any opportunity to homestead land on Ponape or elsewhere. Every paneyney head says he would send some members of his paneyney to settle on any land that might be opened up. Our estimate is that at least a third of Mokil's present population would emigrate if the opportunity were presented.

#### The Typhoon of 1905.

The only typhoon to strike Mokil directly since the pre-historic one I have dated as occurring between 1770 and 1780 was one which struck in 1905. Several other typhoons must have passed within two or three hundred miles of Mokil, however, for a man now sixty years old can recall two instances during his boyhood when tremendous seas pounded Mokil sufficiently hard to break into the bare patch on Karlap and destroy the growth there. The 1905 typhoon, while it probably was not as devastating as the prehistoric one, would nevertheless have caused wholesale death from starvation had not the German government sent relief food to the island and temporarily removed a considerable portion of the population. The German estimate at the time was that half the coconut palms on Mokil were destroyed by this typhoon.<sup>1</sup> Thilenius and Hellwig described the effects of

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<sup>1</sup>. Anonymous. Bericht des Stellvertretenden Vizegouverneurs in Ponape über seinen Besuch in den von Taifun heimgesuchten Gebieten. Deutsches Kolonialblatt, XVI, pp 645-7. Berlin, 1905.

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the 1905 typhoon in these words: "Formerly there was a rich stock of coconut trees; their number, however, was considerably reduced by the typhoon of 1905 which also caused the disappearance of old-style houses. Their former position can still be ascertained by the projecting stone piers, the majority of which has somewhat survived the catastrophe. Large square fish basins are built in some of these piers; they are connected with the sea by means of openings. [The native style thatch houses were soon rebuilt. The fish wells are still present.] The typhoon was so powerful that, in order to reach the elevation where the hut of the king is still standing, the natives had to crawl on all fours. Almost all food provisions, the coconuts included, were lost; only a few chickens succeeded in keeping their balance on high trees. During the first days after the typhoon the natives kept themselves alive by digging up and eating banana stumps." 2.

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2. Thilonius, G. and Hellwig, P. W. Allgemeines; Tagbuch der Expedition; (Die Untersuchung der Gesammelten Gesteinsproben by R. Herzberg). Ergebnisse der Sudsee-Expedition 1908-1910. Hamburg, 1927.

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### Effects of World War II.

During World War II the Hokilese were completely cut off from outside supplies which had become important or essential to their way of life. Various foods, tobacco, cloth kerosene, fishing tackle and tools were all sorely missed. As mentioned earlier, the ancient art of making canoe sails from pandanus matting was revived. The techniques of manufacturing cloth from banana fibers had been so long out of use, however, that apparently no attempt was made to revive that craft.

Another effect on the Hokilese was that they were "buzzed" or strafed frequently enough by American airmen to frighten them into dispersing throughout the three islands. Since the end of Sharkiben's reign nearly everybody had lived in the section of Karlap which is currently the main residential area. Informants say that in aboriginal times people lived on all three islands, and that the practice of living only on Karlap was initiated shortly after the prehistoric typhoon. For 10 or 15 years during Sharkiben's reign everyone took up residence on Manton in order to be handy for trade with the whaling ships that called frequently in those days. Everyone returned to Karlap after the whaling ships stopped coming and it was the only islet on which people lived from about 1865 until World War II.

During World War II many American planes flew low over Mokil. On such occasions everyone would run for shelter, and men in canoes either in the lagoon or fishing in the ocean would jump overboard in an attempt to hide beneath the hulls. On several such occasions American airmen are said to have fired at the Mokilese, and on one occasion a bomber dropped six or seven bombs across Karlap, killing a man and a boy and spraying a large part of the residential area with bomb fragments.

Frightened by these occurrences the people of Mokil decided to disperse themselves as widely as possible about the islands. As a result houses were built on the lower end of Karlap where hardly anyone now lives, and also on Urak and Hanton. Many of these houses were built inland under the shelter of trees where they could not be seen readily from the air. Some individuals even excavated bomb shelters which they roofed with heavy logs and a layer of coral gravel.

Fear of crossing the lagoon to the Karlap taro patch, plus the fact that production in the main patch was sharply reduced by some plant disease about 1942 or 1943, led to the development of a considerable number of small taro patches on Urak and Hanton. Urak was supposedly the site of the only wet land taro patch on Mokil prior to the prehistoric typhoon. This, however, was a very small patch. All the rest of the dozen or so small taro pits on Urak, and most of those now existing on Hanton were dug during the war. The digging of new taro pits on these two islands is continuing, even though the main patch has recovered from the disease which devastated it in the early 1940's. The present motivation for continuing to dig these new taro pits is undoubtedly the shortage of food. The population has reached such proportions that the main taro pit in Karlap will no longer supply the taro needs of several paneynoys. The digging of new taro pits on Hanton and Urak will undoubtedly continue, and even accelerate unless some opportunity for large scale emigration reduces the pressure on the present taro acreage.



## Chapter III

## Tenure and Transfer of Coconut Land

Concepts of Land Ownership.

There are no written deeds or titles to land in Hekil. Title rests in use and the traditional history of the transfers of each plot. Those pieces of land which have passed from father to son through several successive generations have the clearest title of all. Other plots which have come into a paneyney in the last generation or two as dowry with women who married into the paneyney or as gifts to children of the paneyney adopted elsewhere are much less secure in the grasp of the paneyney which now has possession. Still other plots are definitely disputed, usually as the result of discrepancies in the traditional history of transfers of particular pieces. The whole matter of land disputes and the bases for them will be discussed in the next chapter.

The bulk of each paneyney's coconut land is "owned" by the male head of the paneyney, for the most part inherited from his father or older brother. Such land is administered and controlled by the head of the paneyney until his death. It is usual for the paneyney head to announce, when old, how he wants the land divided among his children or other heirs when he dies. These instructions are usually followed. The execution of the division, however, is usually in the hands of the oldest surviving son who may take a little extra for himself. The Hekilese believe, as a matter of fact, that the oldest son should have a somewhat larger division than the younger sons, and that he should also inherit the family dwelling and the plot of ground on which it rests. If the oldest son is particularly forceful (or avaricious) he may take, and get away with, somewhat more land than public opinion feels he is entitled to. It sometimes happens, too, that a younger brother who is particularly forceful may seize more than his share of land after the death of his father. Opportunities for such grabs are enhanced if one son and not the others happens to be with the paneyney head when he dies. In that event the son can say that on his death bed the father "spoke to him" stating that he was to have such and such pieces of ground. Such verbal wills, or allegations that such testaments have been made, are taken seriously by the Hekilese even when no witnesses are present. People may doubt and goSSIP about the claimant's statement, but if he is sufficiently thick skinned and his claims are not too outrageous he can frequently make them stick.

If the paneyney head lives long enough to become old and more or less infirm, he will distribute his land before his death. He may pass it all on to the control of his oldest (or favorite) son, or he may divide it among his several sons. It is the Hekil ideal that the oldest son should inherit the headship of the paneyney and administrative control over the paneyney land. (This does not confer title to all the paneyney land to the new head; should the group of brothers later decide to split up into separate paneyneys, the land will be divided among them.) In some cases, however, the oldest son

lacks his father's confidence or may by common agreement be incapable of assuming the headship of the panyney. In such an event one of two things may happen. The father may pass over the eldest son and appoint a younger son as the future head of the panyney. Alternatively, he may divide the panyney land among his various sons so that each can set up an independent panyney at the old man's death. The Hukilase feel that it is best, if possible, for the sons to stay together in one panyney and to keep the coconut land undivided. This is thought to be practically mandatory if a panyney is land poor because of the belief that a large panyney working together as a unit can more effectively utilize the products of a given area of coconut land than can several small panyneys.

Even after an elderly panyney head has made his land division, however, he does not relinquish all control over the land during the remainder of his life. He continues as the advisory head and, indeed, continues to have the final say in questions of policy, the distribution of money proceeds from the copra cut on panyney land, and so on. This situation exemplifies the general lack of decisiveness of transfer of land titles in Hukil which is a striking fact to the investigator who comes from Western culture. Many land transactions remain in the "promised" stage for years at a time. The lack of any objective symbol of title such as a deed facilitates delay and ambiguity in the transfer of land, and on occasion results in misunderstandings and disputes when one or both parties to an uncompleted transfer die. Several of the land disputes to be discussed in the next chapter had such an origin.

It occasionally happens, also, that the male head of a panyney dies while his sons are still boys. It is then the duty of his widow to assume control of the patrilineal land and operate it, holding it in trust, as it were, for the sons of the marriage. In such cases the widow is likely to enlist the help of a male relative of herself or of her husband to help her care for the land. When the sons come of age and take over their heritage it is the custom, or at least was in the past, to give a piece of coconut land to the male relative in gratitude for his aid in holding and caring for the family land.

Minor and subordinate men in the panyney usually do not have title to coconut land. Subordinate men consist primarily of sons or younger brothers of the panyney head. Occasionally a man who is a younger son in his own panyney takes up residence with his wife's panyney with the avowed intention of remaining permanently in her line. Such men commonly receive a small piece of land from their patrilineal panyney when they marry which gives them some small degree of independence. Land so given is quite comparable to the small plots of land given to women as dowries by their parents when they marry into other panyneys. An occasional man is found today living as a dependent or "working man" with a panyney in which he has no strong kinship ties. Such men are unfortunates who for one

reason or another have no land of their own, and hence can not set up as independent paneyneys.

The subordinate men in a paneyney who are sons or younger brothers of the head may have a sort of partial title to a part of the paneyney coconut land. This situation occurs when the father has already indicated how he plans to divide his land at his death. There are also instances on Tokil where two brothers continue to operate as a single paneyney despite the fact that their father, before his death, divided his land between them. Such paneyneys are rather like partnerships in which each man has undisputed possession of his own land, but where the human and material resources of both are pooled for the common welfare under the permitted supervision of the brother who has the best reputation for "making business". Such paneyneys could divide into two with a minimum of disturbance any time either brother became dissatisfied with the arrangement.

It may be mentioned in passing that one of the sharpest points of difference between the ownership of coconut land and taro-pit land is that the latter is divided among the children of the family as they reach adulthood. Every married son or brother in a paneyney, and some unmarried men of marriageable age, has his share of the paneyney taro land. Its care and cultivation is the responsibility of himself, his wife and children. Taro may be gathered from such land only by the individual owner or with his permission. Even here, however, the paneyney head exerts his authority by instructing various one of the subordinate men of the paneyney when to gather taro from their plot for consumption by the whole paneyney. Most paneyneys follow an unsystematized rotation in taking taro for subsistence from each of the various plots owned by individuals in the paneyney.

In contrast to the subordinate men, the women who have married into the paneyney ordinarily have a small piece of coconut land and at least one small plot of taro land. This land is given to them by their parents when the girls marry. The possession of land by a woman who has married into a paneyney is clearly a source of security and pride to her. If wives of two subordinate men in a paneyney get into an argument the one who has brought the most land to the paneyney is certain to cite that fact early in the argument as a means of silencing, or at least embarrassing, her opponent. The security a woman derives from ownership of a piece of land is also shown in the cases of several women who, in the past, have come to Tokil from other islands and married Tokil men. In several such cases the husband has, at the time of the marriage, bottled a piece of coconut land and a taro plot on his wife. Such marriage gifts by husbands have been made with one exception only to alien women who have no families on Tokil to give them land. Informants are quite explicit that the purpose of such gifts is to give the wife a degree of dignity, security and independence she would not otherwise have.



Occasionally a minor or subordinate male within a paneyney may have a piece of land in his own right. Such land has usually been received as a result of his adoption outside his paneyney of birth. In the past, but decreasingly today, parents by adoption gave land to their adopted sons either at the time they adopted the baby or after he grew up and married. Although adoptions are usually conceived as a life time arrangement which will make a permanent change in the paneyney affiliations of the adopted child, actually almost all adopted children return eventually to their paneyney of birth. Occasionally the child is mistreated by its adopted parents to the point where its own parents retrieve it. No land ever changes hands under these conditions. So sometimes the adopted child is an only son or the eldest son who is needed in his paneyney of birth when his father becomes old and feeble or dies. On such occasions adopting parents will sometimes suggest that the young man return to his family of birth and at the same time present him with a piece of land. In other cases the adopted son may stay with his parents by adoption until their death and the subsequent division of their property. The adopted child is quite likely to receive a piece of land in such divisions, and equally likely to return to his paneyney of birth at that time. When girls are adopted and live with the family of adoption until marriage they may receive dowry land from both the adopted parents and the real parents.

There have been a few instances in Hokil history when a paneyney had only daughters. In such cases it is common, especially if the paneyney has a fair amount of land, for the eldest daughter to bring her husband to her paternal family to live. In such cases the daughter and/or her in-marrying husband become head of the paneyney when the woman's father dies. There are two such matrilineal paneyneys today: that of Opet and Bessie (Peti), and that of Shaulik (Jaulik) and Ana. Both of these men came from land poor paneyneys, and bettered themselves very considerably by joining the paneyneys of their wives. Neither man, however, has the degree of authority nor the security which men have who are heads of patrilineal paneyneys. Shaulik, in particular, lives with his wife more or less on sufferance. She is physically stronger than he, and uses this fact to emphasize her position as the real head of the paneyney. On two or three occasions during our stay at Hokil Shaulik and Ana had domestic tiffs. On each occasion Shaulik moved out of the house and "camped" at the far end of the island until Ana decided he could come back. Opet is a considerably more dominating personality, so that his control over his paneyney and his wife's land is much more pronounced than Shaulik's. Even Opet, however, must take account of his wife's position of power if he goes too far in his domination. Opet's family is more torn by dissension than any other paneyney on Hokil, partly due to the fact that Opet has no use for his two eldest sons but looks with favor on the third son who is slated to become the paneyney head when Opet dies. A bitter family argument developed

during our stay on Hokil concerning how the paneyney land would eventually be divided among the sons of the family. Bessie upheld her position to the extent that, when Opet would not yield to her demands, she quit the household and took up residence with another relative. This was sufficiently disadvantageous to Opet, who is not only an old man but crippled, that within a few days he capitulated and implored Bessie to return. A man who had clear title to the paneyney land would probably have preserved his dignity for a longer period, and might even have "thrown his wife away."

I have already indicated that the paneyney head has administrative control over all the paneyney land, including the plots brought to the paneyney by women who marry into it. The women, however, retain "ownership" of their dowry land. In a discordant paneyney such as Opet's Steven and his wife use the products of the land she brought to the marriage. If a couple are divorced the woman takes her dowry land with her. Moreover, the head of the paneyney almost never disposes of such land without the consent of the woman to whom it belongs. I believe he could exert his authority to that degree if he were sufficiently determined and uncaring about public opinion. If he did so, though, he would be honor bound to replace the land by an equivalent piece. A paneyney head can, on the other hand, dispose of his own patrilineal land ("throw it away") if he is so minded. Very, very seldom has such alienation occurred on Hokil, and the men who have been guilty of it have been called "crazy". A man is expected to preserve his patrilineal land for his sons, but neither they nor anyone else have veto power should he go counter to cultural values by disposing of it.

Several of the land disputes to be discussed in the next chapter show that use of land over a long period of time creates a species of title to it and bolsters the claim of the possessor in a dispute over land. In discussing such claims based on use the Hokilese always stress the fact that the user has planted young trees and cared for the trees already on the land, thus maintaining its productivity. No stress is placed on the fact that the produce of the land has also been utilized by the holder. During Japanese times at least one official sanction was given by the Japanese government to these Hokilese views that long use establishes title. This event occurred when a man named William Brown appeared for the first time on Hokil at the age of sixty, and laid claim to land that had belonged to his mother. The mother a Hokil woman, had left Hokil aboard a whaler before his birth, and had never returned to the island. Her land had been appropriated by a sister, and had descended through several hands in the interval. When William Brown laid his claim against the current owners they refused to recognize it on the basis that they had cared for the land for sixty years. When William Brown appealed to the Japanese government the Japanese supported the people who were then using the land. Nevertheless one man, who happened to be comparatively well-to-do and also of a sympathetic nature, returned one piece of land to William Brown.

William Brown lived on Mokil for several years, married and had a son. When he left the son stayed behind with the brother of Brown's wife, with whom he now lives. The parcel of land in question did not revert to the man who had given it to William Brown of his own free will, but is regarded instead as belonging to William Brown's son and is administered by the head of the panonymy into which this boy has been adopted.

#### Characteristics of Land Transfers by Generations.

During my stay on Mokil I found it possible to construct a complete genealogy for all the present inhabitants of Mokil showing their ancestry and inter-relationships back to the survivors of the prehistoric typhoon, 1770-1780. In the Lakaydsk-Lashabo line some of the children of today are in the tenth generation from Lakaydsk. The latest generation in both the Okatau and Ivenshonit lines consists of a few individuals in the eighth generation from those men. On the genealogical charts which supplement this report Lakaydsk has been assigned to generation "A", Lashabo to generation "B", and his son, Washotip, as well as Okatau and Ivenshonit, have been assigned to generation "C". These placements accord well with the historical evidence which strongly suggests that Lashabo was about a generation older than Okatau and Ivenshonit. It also leads to a consistent generational assignment for the present population with "J" as the latest generation in each line represented only by a score or so of individuals for the whole Mokil population.

It was also possible, during my stay on Mokil, to obtain detailed information on the descent of both coconut and taro land from the period immediately following the prehistoric typhoon to the present owners. The colored blocks on the maps submitted with this report show what purports to be the original division of coconut land between Lashabo, Okatau and Ivenshonit. Informants were able to give me detailed information on every transfer of property from that original division to the present holders. It was always possible to determine the kinship of donor to recipient either from informants or by consulting the genealogical charts. In the vast majority of cases informants also knew, or believed they knew, the occasion for each transfer, such as: inheritance at death, dowry to a woman at marriage, gift to an adopted child at marriage, etc.

Five generations of land transfers are represented in the data that are suitable for analysis. The only land holder in the "D" generation was Lashabo, who passed all of his holdings on to his only child, Washotip. Thus the first significant transfer was from the "C" generation (Washotip, Okatau and Ivenshonit) to their children and other individuals in the "D" generation. It is to be noted parenthetically that a man, Lawatakn, a contemporary of Washotip, Okatau and Ivenshonit, is said to have had possession of the entire island of Manton in immediate post-typhoon time. He died, apparently of natural causes, and the other three men divided Manton about



equally between themselves. This explains why the original (colored) division of Hanton is but three pieces instead of several pieces for each of the original holders similar to the division of Karlap and Urak.

All transfers of coconut land have been analyzed both in terms of numbers of transactions, and in terms of areas transferred. A transfer made by one specific individual to another specific individual on a specific occasion has been considered as one transaction whether the transfer involved one continuous piece of land or several pieces, and without regard for whether the pieces transferred were all on one islet or whether some were on each of two or three of the islets. Thus if three pieces of land are said to have passed from a father to one of his daughters as dowry the three transfers have been lumped together as one transaction. Similarly if a son inherited five or six pieces at his father's death these, too, have been considered as a single transaction. On the other hand, if a daughter received land from her father as dowry, then later inherited more land from him, these events have been counted as two transactions because the occasions differed.

All coconut land areas were measured by planimeter. All figures for coconut land and dwelling rights given in tables or text are in hundreds of square feet as determined by planimeter measurements of original maps made in the field by Mr. Dentzen. All the tables and the chart referred to in this chapter are grouped together following page 123. Table V gives, for the reader's information, the area of each separate lot on all three of the islets of Hoki. Lot numbers followed by an a, b, or c represent two types of modification of the original field maps. In some instances they represent land divisions made after our original maps were completed, or divisions which were discovered only in the process of tracing the "genealogy" of the land. In other cases these lettered numbers represent mergers of two or more pieces each of which had its separate history up to the time of the merger. On the maps the former type of divisions are separated by solid boundary lines, the latter type by broken lines. Only the pieces outlined on the maps in solid lines, in other words, are currently operated as separate parcels of land. It is also to be noted that there are no lots on Karlap to which we have assigned numbers 56-59 inclusive. This was due to an oversight when we originally assigned numbers to the Karlap lots.

Five generations of transfers of land show a sufficient number of transactions to warrant analysis. These were the transfers in which individuals belonging to generations "D", "D", "D", "G", and "H", respectively, received land. As mentioned above, there was only one transfer from "D" to "G" in which Washetip inherited all of the land owned by Lashabo. The "D" generation of recipients are mainly the children of Washetip, Okatau and Iyeshonit, and represent the first general division of the land after the original "new deal"

when Lashabo, Okatau and Irenshonit<sup>1</sup> divided all the land among themselves in the period immediately following the prehistoric typhoon. Only about half a dozen transfers of land have been made to individuals in the "I" generation. These have been omitted, as insignificant, from all tabulations. Even the "I" generation, it will be noted in Table VI, has received only from a half to a bit more than a third as much land as the four preceding generations. This situation is due mainly to the fact that several heads of current pancyneys are members of the "G" generation, and thus have not passed their lands on to the next generation as yet. It is also to be noted that there are still three old people in the "I" generation operating as semi-retired heads of pancyneys, but whose lands have not been counted as passing out of the "F" generation. These people are Lapon Anturu, the preacher emeritus, and the even older married couple, Opet and Bessie. It will be noted in Table VI, too, that the total holdings are different for each generation, and that for generations "D", "E", and "F" they are larger than the total amount of coconut land on the three islets of Tokil. The differences in total holdings are due to the fact that occasionally a piece of land skips a generation, as in the transfer of property from a grandparent directly to a grandchild, and that more frequently there have been transfers between members of the same generation such as those between siblings. The transfers within generations also explain why the holdings in the first three generations are greater than the total land on Tokil, since transfers to members of a given generation have all been counted, regardless of the source of the land.

The column in Table VI headed "Mean area per transfer" is one indication of the growing pressure of population on the land during the last hundred and fifty years. It will be noted that the average size of transferred property decreases by a factor of four from generation "D" to generation "G". The apparent increase in generation "I" in the mean area per transfer is misleading. It happens that three or four of the pancyney heads who belong to generation "I" and have thus acquired their patrilineal holdings are among the biggest land holders on Tokil: Schwab (Jouap), King August and Het Benjamin, for example. When poorer heads of pancyneys in generation "G" die and pass their lands on to their sons, the mean area per transfer for generation "I" will certainly fall below the figure for generation "G". Some of the other tables which follow this chapter show other aspects of the effects of increasing population pressure on the land. At this point I wish to call attention to Chart I which follows Table VI, and graphically represents the decrease in land per capita during the last 160 to 170 years since the prehistoric typhoon.

#### Patrilineal vs. Matrilineal Inheritance of Land.

In view of the fact that the Marshall Islands and Ponape, the two native areas that have had the most direct cultural effects

on Mokil, were both matrilineal societies with matrilineal descent of land in aboriginal times, I rather expected to find on Mokil a definite recollection of a time when land there had been passed on in the matrilineal line. Mokil informants insisted, however, that at least since the days of the prehistoric typhoon the emphasis had been on the patrilineal patrilocal panynoy as the important social unit, and that likewise patrilineal inheritance of land has been always emphasized. In spite of these assurances I have sought, in my analysis of the history of land transactions, for any possible indication that the system may have been primarily matrilineal in earlier times. I must report, however, that I can find no trace of matrilineal emphasis in the earlier generations of land transfers. Indeed, Table VII which summarizes the data pertinent to this problem, indicates that the land transfers to members of generation "D" were much more strongly patrilineal than in any subsequent generation. It will be noted that in generation "D" sixty four percent of all transfers and seventy nine per cent of all the area transferred passed from man to man, and that men were the donors in ninety four per cent of the transfers, accounting for ninety nine per cent of the area. These high percentages are accounted for by the fact that my informants alleged that no woman before generation "D" owned any land on Mokil. None of the wives of the founding fathers is accredited with having had any land, and all land in the "C" generation after Lavatalem's death, was owned by the three men Weshotip, Okatau and Iwenshonit.

But unhappily, these allegations may represent either fact or fancy. It is possible that the only three adult males who survived the prehistoric typhoon did divide all the land de novo among themselves. I find it hard to believe, however, that none of their wives had any dowry land, or that the husbands confiscated to themselves such dowry land as the wives may have had. The present attitude in favor of giving dowry land to women at marriage is so strong on Mokil, and the proportion of married women who received dowry land in every generation from "D" to the present is so high, that I believe this to be an old and stable principle of land transfer in Mokil. I suspect, therefore, that a considerable proportion of the transfers shown on Table VII, generation "D", as passing from men to women, may actually have been dowry land passed by the wives of Weshotip, Iwenshonit and Okatau to their daughters. As will be pointed out later in connection with other tables, it is by no means unusual for fathers or fathers by adoption to give dowry land to their daughters or adopted daughters when the latter marry. It is so common, however, for women to pass on to their daughters as dowry the land which they themselves received as dowry that a fair portion of the land on Mokil can actually be described as having passed matrilineally for several generations. In view of these considerations I am inclined to believe that the total ownership by men alleged for generation "C" is a projection



of present day thinking.<sup>1</sup> It seems quite possible to me, then,

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<sup>1</sup>. Men asked the ownership of different parcels of land, as when making a map of land holdings in the field, Hokilese informants will almost always give you first the name of the panoyney head as the owner of each plot. When informants are questioned more closely, however, as in my tracing the detailed genealogy of the land, they will then give you the names of the actual individual owners.

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that at least half of the land transfers and area shown in generation "D" of Table VII as having passed from men to women may actually have passed from women to women. Incidentally, the six per cent of the number of transfers, and one per cent of the area shown in generation "D" as passing from a woman to a man represent a single transfer by a woman to her brother of an area of 112 sq. ft.

Table VII seems chiefly interesting to me, however, because it enables us to discuss patrilineal vs matrilineal descent of land in quantified terms. Of the four possible types of land transfer within this framework, assuming for the moment that all transfers are between near relatives, transfers from men to men are strictly patrilineal, and transfers from women to women are strictly matrilineal. Of the other two possible types, transfers from men to women are patrilineal when considered from the point of donor but matrilineal when considered from the point of view of the recipient. Conversely, transfers from women to men are matrilineal in origin, but patrilineal in terms of increasing the land holdings of men. Analyzing Table VII from this point of view, and considering primarily the recipients of generations "D", "E" and "G",<sup>1</sup> some

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<sup>1</sup>. The data on generation "D" are probably skewed in favor of patrilineality, while generation "E" is skewed in favor of female recipients because most of the females of this generation have married and received their dowries, but many of the potential male recipients have not received their inheritances because their fathers are still living and hold title to the patrilineal land.

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interesting facts emerge. In each of these generations about a third of the total number of transfers, and from a third to one-half of the total area transferred was patrilineal in the strict sense. That is, it passed from man to man. Fourteen to nineteen per cent of the total number of transfers, but only eleven to sixteen per cent of the total area transferred, was strictly matrilineal. From fifty to fifty four per cent of the total number of transfers, and from thirty nine to fifty three per cent of the total area, was passed in one of the two heterosexual ways. These figures clearly show that, in spite of the great verbal stress placed by Hokilese on the importance of patrilineal

descent of land, serious misrepresentation of the facts would result from accepting literally the statements of informants. It is to be noted in these figures, however, that transfers from men to men tend to be largest in area, while the smallest pieces tend to be those transferred from women to women. These facts will emerge more clearly in later discussion and tables.

Another factor which must be considered in interpreting Table VII is the number of matrilineal paupers per generation. When Lechomos and Sinipo were killed in the early fouding, and their sons likewise either killed or driven away from Nohil, the very large land holdings of these two men perforce went to their daughters. These events greatly increased the proportion of transfers from men to women for the "E" generation of recipients, and correspondingly reduced the proportion of transfers from men to men which would have taken place had not the male heirs of Lechomos and Sinipo been removed from the scene. These unusually large land holdings by women of the "E" generation mean, in turn, that the transfers to "F" generation recipients are disproportionately large in the two categories in which women are the donors.

It must be noted in this connection, also, that an unusually large proportion of women in the "E" and "F" generations married men from other places who consequently owned no land on Nohil. All of the white men who married Nohil women and reared families on the island married women of the "E" generation. These include Jack Smith, John Higgins, Charles Sturges, and Sam. Likewise Captain Dennis of a whaling vessel who was the great-grandfather of Schwab (Jouap), Nohil's richest resident, sired Schwab's grandfather as the result of the loan of a woman of generation "E". Numerous other women in the "E" and "F" generations married men from other island groups. The stimulation of outside contacts both with white men and with other islanders that resulted primarily from the effects of whaling ship contacts affected primarily the women of the "E", and secondarily, of the "F" generations. Thus ten of the thirty one women in the "E" generation who married, or thirty two per cent, were married to outsiders. The Nohil women in these marriages owned virtually all the land which was passed on to their children in the "F" generation. Five of thirty seven women who married in the "F" generation, or thirteen per cent, likewise married landless outsiders as compared with only five per cent of the "G" and "H" generation women who married. From this source, then, has come a strong overemphasis on female donors of property to recipients in the "F" generation, and a lesser but still significant overemphasis on female donors to recipients in the "G" generation.

It is, of course, impossible to reconstruct with any assurance a table that would show how land would have been inherited in the "E", "F" and "G" generations if there had not been these unusual circumstances and enforced matrilineity. But it seems to me these considerations do make more credible the overwhelming patrilineity of the "D" generation. I think it is a reasonable

guess that had some of these events not occurred Table VII would show a much smoother series of graduations from generations "D" to "G" in which there would be a progressive decline in the proportion of strictly patrilineal land descent, and proportionate progressive increases in the strictly matrilineal passing of land as well as in the two intermediate categories.

Today's stress on the supreme validity of patrilineally acquired land is clearly shown by a number of facts. For example, there is no instance of title disputes over land that has been patrilineally passed for three or more generations. One of the reasons dowry land becomes virtually matrilineal is that the males of the family do not feel strongly attached to it, nor feel that it is strongly attached to them. Hence, when it comes time to give dowry land to a daughter they much prefer that she receive land that has come to the paneyney as dowry, rather than cut into the nucleus of patrilineal land of undisputed title. A man is likely to be called a fool if he gives patrilineally acquired land to a daughter as dowry, at the same time keeping in the paneyney land acquired by it as dowry, or acquired otherwise through women. The intensity of these attitudes is increased by the fact that when a paneyney feels called upon to give land that will go to another paneyney there is always a conscious effort to dispose of any land in the paneyney's possession to which title is in any way dubious. Thus it happens that much of the land which passes as dowry is given to adopted children, or is otherwise alienated from the paneyney, is land to which someone else has a more or less remote claim. There is a definite and justified attitude on Mokol that land of clouded title should change hands from paneyney to paneyney as rapidly as possible. It is very difficult for a claimant to recover a piece of land if it has changed hands four or five times through dowry or other gifts from paneyney to paneyney since he or his ancestors lost control of it. The situation would be too direct, clear cut, and uncomfortable for most Mokolans if the person who had originally taken it over without adequate justification were still holding it and available for direct attack when the claimant pressed his claim.

#### Occasions for Land Transfers.

Tables VIII to XII inclusive, which follow Page 123, summarize the occasions when coconut land was transferred to individuals belonging to generations "D", "E", "F", "G" and "H". The tables show nine different types of occasions, plus a category of unknown occasions. Most of these types represent the amalgamation of two or more types of occasions that emerge when the field data were analysed. In the following paragraphs a statement will be made of the different types of occasions which are included in each of the cat-



ogories in the present tables.

Inheritance at Death. The primary category here is the one stated in the heading. Variants which are included in this category are divisions before death, when the donor was aged. In most cases such divisions are made by elderly male heads of paneynoys. Perhaps the next largest group to make divisions when elderly consists of aged women who are either unattached or are the mothers of women who have married into another paneynoy. Such mothers-in-law sometimes live with their daughters in the son-in-law's paneynoy. In gratitude for their support and care, such elderly women commonly announce a bequest to some one in the paneynoy which is caring for them in their old age. Also included in the category "Inheritance at Death" is land which has been inherited by a minor, but which is held in trust by some adult until the minor grows up. Such eventualities arise if a man dies while his children, particularly son, are immature. In such an event it is ordinarily the widow who holds the land in trust for her sons. In Table CI one instance is included in this category in which paneynoy holdings were left by a father undivided to his two sons when he counseled to live together as an undivided paneynoy. In later years, however, friction developed, and the two brothers split up into separate paneynoys. Since this was the only instance in which such a break-up of brothers was definitely known to have occurred I have ignored it in the construction of the tables, and have shown these transactions as though the division were originally made by the father at his death.

Gift at Marriage. In the original analysis of the field data this category was divided into two types of marriage gifts for each sex. The secondary division was based on the question of whether or not the land given at marriage left the patrilineal paneynoy. It was discovered that while in most cases a gift to a man at marriage stayed in the patrilineal paneynoy, on occasions such gifts were given to men who joined their wives' paneynoys. Conversely, most marriage gifts to women leave the patrilineal paneynoy, but occasionally the woman stays and her husband joins her father's paneynoy. These distinctions in the final analysis were felt to be not important enough to double the number of categories.

Gift for Services. Gifts for services has always been a comparatively small category of transfers, as examination of Tables VIII to XII will show. Particularly in recent times, since land has become scarce and economically extremely important, almost no gifts are made in this category. This is shown clearly in Tables II and XII. The variety of services for which a gift of land might be made in former times was quite large. Thus when Sharkiben (generation "E") agreed to leave the Ivenshonit line and take over the headship of Jinipo's paneynoy after the latter and his male heirs had been killed, Jinipo's daughter, Lionarek, gave Sharkiben a considerable share of her father's land. Probably the commonest reason for land gifts under this category has been the assistance rendered to widows

who were holding patrilineal land in trust for their immature sons. A number of these gifts were made under very special circumstances. One such was a gift made by Opet to Alipos (Alipot) during the days when Mokil men worked at Hauru. Opet signed a three year contract to work on Hauru, but became ill and wanted to come back to Mokil before his term was up. He tried to persuade his son Steven, who had already been working at Hauru for several years, to use his savings to buy up Opet's contract. Steven refused to do so. This was an extremely unfilial act, and is to be interpreted in the light of the ill will that had existed between Opet and Steven since the latter's boyhood. Opet then appealed to Alipos (Alipot) who advanced a small sum of money, and also assisted Opet in conferring with the management of white men. In return for this assistance Opet pledged, and later gave, a small but excellent house site plot to Alipos.

The occasion for another gift for services occurred when a young Mokil woman died on Ponape and was buried there. Her father grieved for her, and at least wanted the satisfaction of having her remains buried on Mokil. Several years after her death a Mokil man who was not related to the family disinterred the girl's bones and brought them to Mokil to be reburied. In gratitude the father gave the man a piece of land. In the "Gift for Services" category I also included the land given by Rosa (Rota) to Boas (Boaj) when he spared her brother's life during the feuding and king killing of the early 19th century. Probably the most frivolous gift for services was the plot of coconut land Zacharias gave to each of two young girls who plucked white hairs from his graying locks one day as he slept. There are several instances of gifts of land made to people who have nursed others through serious illnesses.

Free Gift. In this category have been included all occasions when one person has given land to another without any direct return in services, other land, money, or other goods of economic value. A separate category has been made for the free gifts of land that have been made by people emigrating permanently from Mokil. "Free gift" has been an even less important occasion for land transfer on Mokil than "Gift for services" and has been reduced almost to nil in the last two generations. Most of these gifts have been between close relatives, and have involved either house site land or land suitable for the excavation of a taro pit. During the days when whaling ships called regularly at Mokil, and everyone took up residence on Hanton, there were several families who had no land on that island. Some of these people solicited and received gifts of land which enabled them to build houses there. During the early nineteenth century feuding survivors of men who were killed were sometimes given as free gifts the plot on which the killing had occurred.

In the decade following the typhoon of 1905 many people wanted to build houses in the vicinity of the sharp bend in Karlap which is the lee of the only bit of high ground on Mokil. Families without land in this vicinity obtained house sites sometimes by

trading coconut land owned elsewhere, and sometimes by appealing to close relatives for the free gift of a house site. There have also been several occasions when one branch of a family had no suitable place to build a canoe house, and when they have asked for and received from another branch of the family a small plot of the lagoon shore suitable for this purpose.

The large taro patch on Karlap can be enlarged only by digging into the adjacent coconut land, all of which is privately owned. Thus persons not owning coconut land bordering the taro pit have not been able to increase their taro land on Karlap unless they could obtain permission to dig on someone else's coconut land. There have been several instances where close relatives have received such permission as free gifts. In the center of Urak there are considerable areas where dry land crops do not grow well, and where the land is of potential value chiefly if it can be turned into taro plots. In several cases individuals have given small pieces of this essentially worthless land to close relatives to enable the latter to dig taro pits. Such gifts were especially frequent during the war when many small taro pits were dug on Urak and Nanton.

Special Gifts. This is a residual category of land gifts which did not fit in any of the other categories. In the earlier generations it included gifts from parents to children adopted into other paneymys. Such gifts are no longer made. A variety of other gifts from parents or foster parents which do not fit in the previously described categories are included in this one. Also included in this category are those instances, mentioned earlier, when husbands made gifts of land to their wives at marriage in lieu of dowry from the patrilineal families of the wives. In all but a single case the wives who received such gifts were aliens without any family on Mokil to give them dowry land. The only known instance in which a person "throw away" a piece of land, allowed it to lapse into wilderness, is also included here. The man in question, Loratak, was a famous no'or-do-well who is described as having been "a little bit crazy". He failed to work either his coconut or his taro land, and allowed both to slip out of his hands into the possession of various relatives and friends. One piece of land on the ocean side of Urak remained in his possession until he died without heirs. The two men who owned land on either side of this piece each merged half of Loratak's piece with his own land, so the plot lost its identity. This transaction has been included in the present category.

Recovery of Disputed Land. As will be pointed out in the next chapter there are a number of instances on Mokil when land held and operated by one family, or one branch of a family, has been claimed by another family, or another branch of the same family. In most cases the advantage rests with the possessor of such land, but occasionally, as Tables VIII to XII show, the rival claimant does recover part or all of the disputed land. Some of these cases can probably be regarded as permanent recoveries. Others, however, continue to be disputed by the claimants from whom they were recovered and may eventually revert to the present have-nots or their heirs.



Only one case of voluntary return of disputed land is recorded. This occurred when William Brown, whose mother had been a Mokil woman who left Mokil permanently with a whaler, returned at about sixty years of age, married and lived on Mokil for several years. His mother had owned several pieces of coconut land on Mokil which had been taken over by her brothers and sisters when she left. The descendants of these branches of the family refused to turn over to William Brown land they had acquired through his mother, and were upheld in their stand by the Japanese government. One man however, Wilson Boas (Tijon Boaj), feeling sorry for William Brown, gave him a piece of coconut land on Urak that had belonged formerly to William Brown's mother.

Exchange for Land of Equal Value. The transfers which fall into this category are few and scattered. Most of them represent efforts of individuals to consolidate holdings, land exchanges to obtain desired house sites, or exchanges motivated by someone's desire to acquire a piece of coconut land close to his dwelling sight so that drinking nuts and other produce can be obtained for family consumption with a minimum of labor. During the days of feuding when relatives of men who were slain frequently sought to acquire for sentimental reasons the land on which they were killed, such acquisitions were sometimes made by exchanging land of equivalent value. Occasionally, when a girl receives as dowry a piece of land one of her brothers want he will exchange an equivalent piece with her for the lot he wants.

Gift by Emigrant. Two score or more individuals have at one time or another left Mokil to take up residence more or less permanently in the Marshall Islands, or on Rongerik, Takaie, Pingelap, Ngatik, or even places as distant as the Mortlocks, Rabaul and Japan. Many of these individuals are women who marry men native to these other islands. It has been the custom to give such women dowry land on Mokil even though it is assumed they will spend most or all of their lives elsewhere. In a fewer number of instances men who have received land by patrilineal inheritance, gifts from parents by adoption or otherwise, have also moved away from Mokil more or less permanently. In all such cases the individual puts his or her land in the care of a close relative, usually a brother or other male relative. It is very difficult to determine which of these transactions are to be considered merely as loans during the owners' absence from Mokil and which are to be considered as permanent transfers of title. I feel sure that any emigrant who later returned to Mokil would expect to reclaim his or her land. It is equally evident, however, that the longer the individual had been away from Mokil the more enfeebled his title to the land would have become. Recovery by the original owner after long absence would probably be determined largely by such considerations as the personalities of the two individuals, the closeness of the bond between them, the relative prestige of the two individuals, etc. Such emigrants sometimes send one or more children back to the Mokil pantheon, and in such cases the children usually retrieve the parents' land which has been held by a relative. If, however, as in the case of William Brown, the original emigrant stays away from Mokil for the

rest of his or her life, and no children return to Nukil until many years later, the probability is that such children will not succeed in recovering land formerly belonging to the parents. Even in this case, however, recovery might be effected if the relative holding the land is a sympathetic and generous person.

The "Gift by emigrant" category is further complicated by the fact that several Nukil paneyneys have avowed branches living on other islands. In such cases the Nukil residents sometimes have claims on the land operated by the emigrant branch, and at the same time some of the land operated by the Nukil branch is acknowledged to be actually owned by members of the emigrant branch. Thus in King August's paneyney, for example, much of the land being operated under August's direction and for the profit of the Nukil branch actually belongs to members of the family who reside in the Marshall Islands, and to other members of the family who reside in Ponape.

The family has extensive holdings in the Marshalls received through the king's mother, Sophie, daughter of a German trader and a Marshall woman. The holdings there are so large that August's older brother, Herman, who would presumably have been king had he remained on Nukil, preferred to move to the Marshalls and become head of that branch of the family. Should Herman return to Nukil, however, he could unquestionably retrieve his share of the Nukil land.

Individuals living on such nearby islands as Ponape, Pingelap and Rusaie usually visit their relatives on Nukil occasionally. If they own land on Nukil the land is cared for and the profits taken from copra cutting by the Nukil residents. If the bond between the emigrant and his relatives living on Nukil is close, and if the head of the Nukil paneyney is a generous and fair minded man, the visiting emigrant will usually receive some financial return if there is a copra cutting during his visit to Nukil. One instance which occurred during our stay on Nukil, for example, was the visit of a brother who is now a resident on Rusaie. He owns coconut land on Nukil which the Nukil paneyney uses. During his visit, however, there was a copra cutting, and his older brother, head of the Nukil paneyney, turned over to the Rusaie brother all the money received from the copra cut on all the paneyney's land, not just from the piece owned by the Rusaie brother. This act was regarded as the proper kind of open handed hospitality.

Cases are recorded, on the other hand, in which a person who has left Nukil is refused any share of the copra from "his" land when he returns for a visit. Perhaps the most celebrated instance involved August's father, Joel, and Phillip (Belop) a son of Charles Sturges and Thalio and therefore a half brother of Joel's father, Hak. Belop had spent his boyhood and early manhood as a subordinate male in Hak's, and later Joel's paneyney. He owned a couple of pieces of land which he had obtained from his mother. He married a Nukil woman, but the marriage broke up in a scandalous divorce which cost both Belop and his wife the sympathy of the Nukil people. Belop then

married a Pingelap woman and lived there for many years. On one occasion he came to Mokil to visit Joel and during his stay asked Joel for the proceeds from a copra cutting which he needed to purchase windows for a house he was building in Pingelap. Joel refused Delop's request, and told him he had sacrificed all claim to the Mokil land. In this instance Joel was undoubtedly avaricious, and also was using his power as king for his own advantage, but on the other hand he had the backing of public opinion or at least did not go counter to it.

The types of situations discussed in the last three paragraphs I have considered as not constituting transfers of ownership. In other words, for panoyneys which have avowed branches on other islands I have considered coconut land on Mokil owned by individuals on the other islands as still belonging to those individuals although the Mokil residents have the use of the land. In the cases of individuals living on other islands who exert ownership over Mokil land by returning from time to time to claim the proceeds from their land I have also considered that the emigrant still owns the Mokil land. If I had arbitrarily assigned all land belonging to emigrants to the people on Mokil who now use it the number of transfers in this category would have been considerably greater for the recent generations.

Purchase or "Lease". A striking fact about this category is that only six times in the history of land transactions on Mokil has land been transferred under this category. The earliest case was the sale to Jack Smith of a small piece of land on Manton which he bought in the early days of whale ship contacts as a house site. This is the only exchange of this sort which has not led to controversy or a present day land dispute. The other cases will be discussed, therefore, in the next chapter. Here I wish only to emphasize the exceeding rarity of land transfer for monetary consideration on Mokil. One informant probably expressed Mokil attitudes very well when he asked, after telling me about a land purchase made by Selvab, whether the United States government would not punish him if they knew he had bought land.

Unknown. This category is self-explanatory. As might be expected, the unknown category is greatest for the earliest generation, and successively less in the "A" and "B" generations, and disappears completely in the "C" and "D" generations where the occasions for all land transfers could be recalled without difficulty.

Totals by Occasions, Degrees of all Degrees of Relationship. Examination of the totals by occasions on Tables VIII to XII, inclusive, shows that for every generation the most important occasion for land transfer in terms of the total area transferred has been inheritance at death. Percentage calculations taking the total land area transferred to each generation as one hundred per cent show the following



percentages of the area to have passed by inheritance at death in each generation: D-55%, E-41%, F-43%, G-51%, and H-65%. The figure for the "D" generation may be somewhat high due to faulty recollection of present day informants. It is to be noted, however, that fifteen per cent of the area transferred to generation "D" was transferred on unknown occasions, and the likelihood is that a good bit of that was inheritance at death.

The comparatively low proportion of land inherited at death in the "E" and "F" generations probably represent disruptions in the pattern of land inheritance occasioned both by the reintegration of the culture as the people recovered from the prehistoric typhoon, and also by the effects of early white contacts. In these generations, for example, several women who were wives of white men and the children of such women received special gifts because the white men had high prestige but no land. These generations also represent the chief period when women from other islands were brought to Nukil, and therefore represent a concentration of gifts of dowry land by husbands at marriage, which also swell the "Special gift" category. The amount of land transferred by special gift in the "E" and "F" generations came to nine and a half per cent and thirteen per cent, respectively, a much larger proportion than any ensuing generation. The "G" and "H" generations show proportions of land transferred at death about equivalent to the "D" generation. It is to be noted, however, that both "E" and "F", especially the latter, will show a much higher proportion in this category when present heads of panemoyo who belong to older generations pass their land on at death. When all the returns are in on the "G" and "H" generations, therefore, we will find increasing stress on inheritance at death as the most important occasion in terms of the amount of land transferred.

It is to be noted also that the amount of land held by men until death is much greater in each generation than is the amount of land held by women until death. This reflects both the major control of land by the male panemoyo head, and also the tendency for women to pass on their land as dowry to their daughters when they marry. It is likewise to be noted that in each generation the amount of land received by men at the death of both male and female donors is several times that received by women. These facts give a quantitative picture of the patrilineal tendency, and the tendency for land to revert to males on occasions of inheritance at death.

Several points are worthy of note concerning the average areas of land inherited at death. In almost all cases the greatest average area per transfer is in the category of land inherited by men from men at their death. In the "Total all Donors" column it will be seen that the average area of land inherited by men at death from both men and women donors is usually the largest figure in the column. The next largest figure is frequently the average area of land inherited by women from all donors at death. Above average areas for other occasions are bigger than these it is almost always because of one or two unusually large gifts in the

other categories which enlarge the mean considerably beyond the mode.

The second largest category of land transfer in all generations except "D" is the category "Gifts at Marriage". Per cent of area calculations by generations show that the following percentage of the total areas transferred in each generation had been given as gift at marriage: D-8%, E-27%, F-25%, G-27%, and H-24%. Analysis of this category by sex of recipient show a situation the reverse of the inheritance at death category. Women receive a great deal more land as gifts at marriage than do men. The "matrilineal" emphasis on dowry land is shown in this category by the fact that the amount of land passed by female donors nearly equals, and in one generation exceeds the amount passed in this category by male donors.

A comparison of the numbers of transfers in the two categories of inheritance at death and gift at marriage brings out some interesting contrasts. In the "D" generation the number of transfers at death was more than double the number of gifts at marriage, and in the "E" generation the total numbers of transfers on these two occasions were almost equal. In the last three generations, however, the proportion of transfers through gifts at marriage has steadily increased in comparison to the transfers at death, so that for the "H" generation the number of gifts at marriage is almost double the number of transfers at death. The figures for the latter generation are, as I have pointed out, overweighted in terms of numbers of female recipients because many women of the generation have married and received their dowry land whereas comparatively few men of the generation have inherited the patrilineal land.

Although the proportionate number of transfers at marriage, especially to women, has been increasing with respect to the number of transfers at death, predominantly to men, the average area of the dowry land has decreased markedly by comparison with the average area of land inherited at death. As the economic importance of land has increased, in other words, and as a serious shortage of land even for subsistence purposes has developed in the last few decades, the amount of land given as dowry, most of which leaves the patrilineal family, has been reduced virtually to token proportions. At this point it is perhaps worth mentioning the smallest land transfer that has occurred on Rokil, dowry to a daughter of a poor paucynoy. She received the right to use a small patch of poor coconut land as a taro patch provided her husband dug and developed the pit, and in addition she received no coconut land but a single coconut tree. The husband dug and developed the taro pit, and the family at present is using the nuts produced by the single dowry coconut tree.

Little need be said about the other occasions for land transfer beyond calling the readers attention to the fact that the absolute numbers and areas transferred are generally of the order of one to three per cent of the total figures for each generation, and that on the whole the average area per transfer tends to be small. The category: "Special gifts" shows some minor importance up to the "G" generation, as does the category: "Exchange for land of equal value".

### Analysis of Kinship of Donor to Recipient.

Tables VIII to XII show, as we would expect in this predominately patrilineal society, that the fathers have been the most important donors of land in each generations, in terms of area transmitted, and that a larger number of transfers have emanated from fathers than from any other source in all generations except "F". The per cent of total area transmitted to each generation by fathers is as follows: D-41%, E-44%, F-25%, G-53%, and H-51%. The percentages of the number of total transfers each generation originating from fathers are: D-35%, E-33%, F-17%, G-39%, and H-48%. The drop in the proportion passed by fathers in the "F", and particularly the "E" generations reflect in part the many matrilocal families that came into being during those generations because of the marriage of Mohil women to outside men, including white men. These two generations likewise encompassed the period when control of land by mothers increased from zero in the "D" generation to the present figure of about one-fourth of all the area transferred per generation. Generation "F" also saw the high point of transfers of land from fathers by adoption and mothers by adoption with sixteen per cent and twelve per cent, respectively, of all land transferred in that generation originating from those sources. It is to be noted that in every generation the land transmitted from father to son has exceeded that transmitted from father to daughter. But whereas in generations "D" and "E" sons received only about half again as much land from their fathers as did daughters, in the "G" generation the proportion was over four to one, and in the "H" generation it stands at better than three to one in favor of sons, although half again as many daughters in the "H" generation have received land from their fathers than have sons. Here we have another indication of the trend in recent decades to give less and less land to daughters who take it out of the panchnoy and to reserve a larger and larger proportion of the panchnoy land for the sons who will remain in the direct patrilineal line.

Transfers from fathers by adoption or stepfathers have shown a steady decline from the "D" generation to the present in both the area transferred and in the number of transfers per generation. The figures for percentage of total area per generation originating from fathers by adoption and stepfathers are: D-14%, E-12%, F-16%, G-5%, and H-0.3%. The figures for percentages of the total number of transfers per generation are: D-24%, E-11%, F-13%, G-3% and H-1%. This decrease reflects in part a progressive reduction in the number of adopted children per family, but the fall in property transferred has been much more rapid than the reduction in proportion of adopted children. I interpret these facts as illustrating the increasing reluctance of adults to give land to adopted children as land has become more and more valuable. The tendency is observable to give somewhat more land to adopted sons than to adopted daughters, but this tendency is not nearly so strong in the case of adopted children as it is in the case of own children. Some half again to twice as many boys have been adopted per generation as girls, and adopted sons have received from two to four times as much land per generation as adopted daughters.



The proportions of land transfers originating with mothers increased rapidly from zero in the "D" generation to twenty three per cent of the total area transferred in the "F" generation, and has since increased slowly to twenty seven per cent of the total area transferred so far in the "H" generation. Here again, although much of the dowry land received by daughters is given by their mothers, nevertheless in all generations since "F" mothers have given approximately twice as much land to sons as to daughters, and the proportion going to sons has increased steadily during the last three generations.

Land received from mothers by adoption has never been a very large proportion of the total transferred, except in the "F" generation where twelve per cent of the total area and also twelve per cent of the number of transfers originated from mothers by adoption or stepmothers. In the "H" and "G" generations we find adopted sons receiving from twice to nearly four times as much land as adopted daughters. So far in the "H" generation, however, the amounts transferred to adopted sons and to adopted daughters are about equal. A common occasion for such transfers arises when elderly women otherwise unattached, spend their declining years with children by adoption and present them with land. Less frequently fathers-by-adoption also depend on their adopted children in old age.

The columns "Other relatives, male" and "Other relatives, female" in Tables VIII to XII each represent a combination of five separate categories maintained during the analysis of the field data. Separate tabulations were originally made for property gifts by husbands', brothers, fathers' fathers, mothers' fathers, and other male relatives; for wives', sisters, fathers' mothers, mothers' mothers, and other female relatives. These ten categories were grouped together into two dichotomized on the basis of sex, both because of space considerations and because the more detailed analysis can be adequately discussed without tabulations.

In all generations the most important of the "Other relative" categories in terms of quantity of land transferred were brothers and sisters. In each generation, except "H", from a third to a half of the total area transferred by other relatives changed hands between siblings. During the entire history of land transfers on Mokil brothers have passed nearly eight times as much property to sisters as to their male siblings. On the other hand sisters have passed over three times as much land to brothers as to female siblings. The preponderance of land passing from brothers to sisters, rather than from brothers to brothers, reflects primarily the dowry obligations of the patrilineal relatives to women who are marrying outside the panegy. In the many instances when one or both parents have died before all the daughters were married the brothers are expected to take over the duty of supplying coconut land to the girls at marriage. The Mokilese unquestionably regard this as a legitimate obligation. There are cases in my records, as a matter of fact, in which the failure of fathers to make adequate

dowry provisions for daughters has been rectified in later years by the brothers of the women. During our residence on Nokil, for example, a man who himself had very little coconut land gave a sizeable portion of his inheritance to a sister who had been married for many years. He did this because of continued gossip about the parsimony of his father who has been dead for a decade or more. In order to preserve the good name of the family the brother belatedly increased her dowry out of his own inheritance. This incident, by the way, well illustrates the slowness with which land transfers are sometimes adjusted and completed on Nokil.

The preponderance of land transfers from sisters to brothers is to be explained by the fact that it has been women more often than men who have moved away from Nokil by marrying aliens and the further fact that in most cases the loyalty of such women to their patrilineal family prompts them to put their dowry land in the care of brothers.

The second most important set of "other relatives" in terms of the amount of land transferred throughout the history of Nokil has been husband and wife. The total area transferred from husband to wife, or vice versa, throughout the known history of Nokil land transfers is, however, only about two-fifths as much as the total transferred between siblings (total area transferred in all generations between siblings--30,076; total area transferred in all generations between spouses--15,282). In the whole history of Nokil land transfers only twelve cases of transfer from wife to husband are recorded for a total of 9,576 sq. ft. Practically all of these represent instances in which wives died either without daughters or before their daughters married, and the husbands took over the dowry land the wives had brought to them. It is sometimes difficult to say whether such a situation should be counted as inheritance of land by the husband from the wife or not. If there are immature daughters of the marriage it will frequently happen that the husband will pass his wife's dowry land on to them when they marry. In such cases the father could be considered as merely holding a piece of matrilineal land in trust just as widows sometimes hold patrilineal land in trust for their sons if the father dies while the boys are immature. The gifts of land from husbands to wives also total twelve instances in the entire history of land transfer in Nokil for a total area of 9,606 sq. ft. Most of these transfers represent gifts by husbands to alien wives at marriage in lieu of dowry. It is interesting to note that all transfers of land from husband to wife occurred in generations "4" and "5", the period of heaviest influx of alien women into Nokil.

A fact which surprised me when I analyzed the land transfers was the exceedingly few transfers from grandparent to grandchild. Throughout the history of Nokil land transactions there is record of only one transfer each from father's father, father's mother, and mother's father; and only two transfers have occurred from mother's mother to grandchildren. The total area represented by these five transfers is only 9,649 sq. ft., two thirds of which is accounted for by a single transfer from a mother's father

to his grandson<sup>d</sup> in the "I" generation. The infrequency of transfers from grandparent to grandchild was surprising in view of statements by informants that it was formerly customary for a grandparent, usually the father's father, to make a present of land to his first grandchild at birth. One man, James (Jonej), head of one of the present paneyneys on Hokil, is the only living person who received such a gift at birth. Informants made a considerable point of the allegation that no man since James was born about fifty five years ago has been able to make such a present in keeping with ancient Hokil tradition. The figures for land gifts from grandparent to grandchildren show that actually such gifts at birth have been exceedingly rare, at least since the late 18th century, or else that informants have forgotten some instances. I have a strong impression, but have not checked the data specifically to verify the point, that there actually have been more presents of this sort from grandparents by adoption than from real grandparents. Marklibon, for instance, himself childless, made such a present of land to the first child of his adopted son, Haki. I recall at least two or three other instances similar to this.

The columns "Non-relative, male" and "Non-relative, female" include only a few scattered entries in each generation. In most of these cases a distant relationship can actually be traced between donor and recipient--indeed, almost everyone on Hokil can trace some sort of relationship to almost everyone else. These categories were set up in analysing land transfers, however, to take care of the few transfers between unrelated people, and between people who were extremely distantly related, and in which the transfer was not based on kinship considerations. Instances of sale or lease of land to alien white men appear here, as does the one case when a man leased or sold a piece of property to a Pinolop friend. It will be noted that in no generation was there a single inheritance at death or gift at marriage originating from a non-relative. Several gifts for services occur, as well as instances of recovery of disputed land, and exchange for land of equal value, all categories in which kinship is not necessarily important as a basis for transfer.

In summary, the most striking fact about the kinship of donor to recipient of coconut land in Hokil is the great preponderance of gifts between relatives of the first degree. If we total the receipt of land by each generation from parents, parents by adoption, siblings, and spouses we find that in all generations except the "I" and "II" generations which were disturbed by the new relations established as a result of white contact, transfers between relatives of the first degree total about ninety per cent both in numbers and in areas transferred. The per cent of the total number of transfers by generations from individuals who were more distantly related than the categories mentioned above were as follows: D-9%, E-10%, F-25%, G-20%, and H-7%. In terms of area the percentage figures transferred from distant relatives and non-relatives are: D-3%, E-13%, F-15%, G-7%, and H-9%. Within the range of close relatives we find for each generation a preponderance of male donors, and likewise a preponderance of male recipients with the father to son category being by far



the largest.

#### Land Holdings by Present Panoyneys.

The thirty nine operative panoyneys on Tokil today average 3,105<sup>hundred</sup> sq. ft. of coconut land each, or 7.3 acres per panoyney. Mean area of land per capita is 312<sup>hundred</sup> sq. ft., or .72 acre. This situation of the Tokil population whereby on the average, an individual must derive his total earth-grown sustenance and cash income from a plot of ground roughly 210' x 150' is the result of a steadily accelerating population growth during approximately the last 170 years. Chart 1 shows the result of this population growth in terms of decreased acreage per capita, and also shows the tremendous upswing of population in the last few years. It seems obvious that the Tokilose will eat themselves off their island in the very near future. An opportunity for massive emigration, such as the opening of land for homesteading on some other island in the vicinity, appears to be the only immediate feasible way of relieving what has become a critical pressure of population on the local resources. But emigration will not settle the problem in the long run since, under present conditions, the population would quickly reproduce itself. Some form of birth control would appear to be imperative and needs to be put into effect as soon as the Tokilose can be taught the techniques and brought to believe that the practice of birth control is not un-Christian.

Poor in resources as all Tokil panoyneys are, there is still considerable range in the amount of coconut land controlled by each panoyney and in the per capita amount of land per panoyney. Opet's panoyney controls the largest amount of land, 9,100 hundred sq. ft., while the panoyney of Thoash (Joaj) controls only 420 hundred sq. ft. Opet's panoyney has so many members, however, that it is well below the average in acres per capita with .58. Schwab, the second largest land holder is by far the wealthiest in per capita holding with 3.22 acres. Joaj is poorest of all Tokil panoyneys, both in total land and in per capita acreage with a figure of .24.

In terms of per capita land wealth Tokil panoyneys fall into five groups. Schwab with his 3.22 acres per capita is in a class by himself. Below him comes a group of eight panoyneys with a range of 1.01 to 1.39 acres per capita. The next lower group includes twelve panoyneys with a per capita acreage ranging from .72 to .93. The next group of six panoyneys ranges from .49 to .60 acres per capita, and the eleven poorest panoyneys range down from .46 to .24 acres per capita of coconut land.

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1. One of the richer panoyneys, George Higgins with 5,606 hundred sq. ft. of coconut land, can not be included in the per capita calculations because he and his small family are permanent residents of Panapo. A cousin works George's land, and takes some subsistence from it, but George collects all the copra money.

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Most paneynoys with large land holdings on Mokil today are the fortunate descendants of families that had only one son per generation for several generations. Thus Bessie, Opet's wife, who really owns nearly all the land in that Paneynoy, is the only child of Isaac who in turn was the only child of Lekeyon. Lekeyon was a son of Chatau, and thus participated in the large inheritances that characterized the "P" generation recipients.

The history of Lekeyon's paneynoy land is more complicated, but also involves a series of only children and undivided land. His grandfather, Charlie Dennis, was the son of a white ship captain, and was conceived as a result of a casual love affair. Charlie had only two small pieces of land of his own, but he must have enjoyed considerable prestige as the son of a white ship captain, and he was clearly one of the first Mokilese to realize the personal benefits of Western commercialism. He married a woman who was the only grandchild of Larno, Thonshonit's youngest son, and the true father of the great king, Charikibon. This woman, Halls (Jalis), received a tremendous amount of land from her aunts and uncles, Larno's children. She and Charlie Dennis had only one child, a son Walter, who in turn had only the one child, Lekeyon. Thus Lekeyon, in the "II" generation, has received land that was recombined three generations ago and has not been divided since.

The paneynoy of Alon, which is third in total land holdings, is really a joint or "partnership" paneynoy. Alon's father, Jonathan, was the oldest of two sons in the "P" generation, and received a lot of land from his father. Jonathan divided his land between Esimen (Eshon), his oldest son, and his younger son Alon. Esimen is now dead, but his son Phillip (Moley) continues to make one paneynoy with Alon, who has several daughters but no sons of his own. The expectation is that when Alon dies Phillip will become head of the still united paneynoy, and there will be very little dispersal of the land because Alon's oldest daughter has brought her husband to live with her father's paneynoy, and will doubtless remain in the patrilineal family.

The paneynoy of King August is the fourth largest land holder on Mokil. His line started when Charikibon took over Sinipo's paneynoy after his death at the request of Eimurak, and received a considerable share of Sinipo's land from her. Charikibon had no children of his own, but adopted Hak and passed nearly all of his land on to Hak. Hak had several daughters, but only one son, Joel, who received the bulk of Hak's land plus a sizeable portion brought into the paneynoy by Hak's mother-in-law who spent the declining years of her life in that paneynoy. Joel had several sons, but three of them are living away from Mokil, in the Marshall Islands or on Ponape, and another has married the eldest daughter of Alon and is now a part of that paneynoy. King August thus controls the land Charikibon had, virtually undivided. Joel specified the division to be made of this land among his various children, but since most of his sons have established themselves elsewhere August has the full use of their land.

Many of the poor panyneys, on the other hand, are unfortunate enough to descend from families in which there have been several brothers per generation for two or more generations who have all stayed on Holil, and who have divided into separate panyneys. Thus Rupin, in generation "F", who was a grandson of Watalara, had substantial land holdings. The land was divided among his three sons who set up separate panyneys, a process which has been repeated by the three sons of Rupin's eldest son. Rupin's two surviving sons, Lorin and Edgar (Itikar) today control 2,912 and 1,928 hundred sq. ft. of coconut land respectively with a per capita acreage for their panyneys of .33 for Lorin and .42 for Edgar. The three sons of Rupin's deceased eldest son now control, in age order, 2,912, 1,704, and 940 hundred sq. ft. of coconut land. The two older son have small families so their per capita holdings are .92 acre and .90 acre. The youngest son, Isaac, heads the fourth poorest panyney on Holil with a per capita coconut land holding of .31 acres.

The coconut land holdings of the sons and grandsons of Alexandrina parallels the case of Rupin's sons both in showing the impoverishment that results from having many sons who remain on Holil, and likewise illustrates how the amount of land held by each of several sons tends to correlate with their birth order with the oldest son having most and successively younger sons having less and less. Alexandrina, a member of the "F" generation, was the daughter of a Holil woman via an affair with a Portuguese seaman. She thus grew up in a matrilineal household, she was a cripple, and did not marry until comparatively late in life. Her husband was a Pingelap man, Alexander, who had come to Holil as a "working man". He was industrious and willing to marry Alexandrina, so her mother settled nearly all of her property on her crippled daughter. Alexandrina then proceeded to have four children, all sons. Each son made a separate panyney on land received from his mother. The oldest son, Henry, is now dead and has been succeeded in turn by his eldest son, Tom Alexander. Tom, the oldest son of the oldest son, controls a total of 3,552 hundred sq. ft. of coconut land, .46 acres per capita. Alipos (Alipot), the second son of Alexandrina, controls 3,012 hundred sq. ft., .43 acres per capita. Holiten, the youngest son of Alexandrina, controls only 100 hundred sq. ft. of coconut land, but because he is a widower and his panyney consists only of himself and an adopted son his per capita acreage is 1.01.

Shorin (Jorin), who is the youngest son of a youngest son of a youngest son, and who furthermore, has been unfortunate enough to have twelve children of his own, is the fifth poorest man on Holil in total land holdings, and the second poorest in per capita acreage with .25.



Most of the men whose fathers migrated to Nohkai from other Pacific island groups are today in the lower economic brackets of Nohkai life. Whereas the earlier white men who married native wives frequently had sufficient prestige and influence so that various affinal relatives gave quantities of land to their wives or children, the men from other island groups who have married Nohkai women in the last generation or two were not so fortunate. Most of these alien men lived in Nohkai as dependents in prosperous paneyneys, and the women they married frequently came from poorer Nohkai paneyneys. William Luther (Jalon Luta) is a case in point. Not only his father, but his mother's father, were Marshall men, so that William is actually only one-quarter Tokilese. William's father was an uncle of Jalis (Jalis), the land-rich wife of Charlie Dennis. He came from the Marshalls to live at her request after her father had died on Nohkai. In gratitude for this continental journey Jalis gave him a sizeable piece of coconut land on Kavalap. Most of this land was later taken back by her only son, Walter Dennis, and by her grandson Khabab. These circumstances will be described in the next chapter on land disputes. Today William Luther heads a paneyney which controls 3,072 hundred sq. ft. of coconut land, .34 acres per capita for his paneyney.

Somewhat more fortunate than the sons of most migrant men are Chapit (Japit) and Lovellyn (Juelon) who are heads of two of the present paneyneys. They are fortunate only in that they did get possession of some land; both are poor, and Lovellyn heads the third poorest paneyney on Nohkai in terms of land per capita. The mother of Chapit and Lovellyn was Haraia, the illegitimate daughter of a Nohkai woman and a white seaman, who was her mother's only child, and inherited some coconut land from her. She married Shoshua (Jajua), also an only child, so the couple was comparatively well-to-do. When Shoshua died Haraia was able to hold onto all his land because Shoshua had no siblings to contest her claim, whereas she had borne him three children, including a son. She was therefore able to hold her husband's land even after she married Jim from the Gilbert Islands and bore him three sons and three daughters. As the double family grew to adulthood the girls married out into other paneyneys, taking small amounts of land with them as dowry. Shoshi (Jaji), the son of Shoshua, became head of the paneyney in which Jim and his children were subordinate members. Shoshi married, but died young without having had any children. This event eliminated all the direct male heirs of Shoshua, and his land reverted back to the control of his widow, her second husband Jim, and their oldest son, Houel. Houel died after having had only one daughter. Eventually Haraia and Jim died, leaving the bulk of Haraia's and Shoshua's land to the two remaining sons of Jim, Chapit and Lovellyn. It is to be surmised that they would have gotten almost no land had Shoshua's son survived or left male descendants, and both would have been subordinate men in Houel's paneyney if he had survived.

Jim and Haraia counseled Chapit and Lovellyn to remain together in one paneyney, and did not divide the land between them before dying. The two brothers did live together as a combined

paneyney for many years, but eventually Lewellyn grew tired of Shapit's domination and particularly of the fact that Shapit persistently had sexual relations with Lewellyn's wife.<sup>1</sup> Lewellyn finally

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<sup>1</sup>. It is not at all uncommon on Mokil for the paneyney head to take sexual advantage of the wives of subordinate men in the paneyney, but it should be done secretly and not flaunted in the face of the subordinate men as Shapit apparently flaunted his exploits in Lewellyn's face.

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insisted that Shapit divide the land between them and that they make separate paneyneys. Shapit took full advantage and more of his position as eldest brother to take over a total of 3,268 hundred sq. ft. of coconut land, while allowing Lewellyn only 1,516 hundred sq. ft. Both have had numerous children, so that today the per capita acreage for Shapit's paneyney is .50, and for Lewellyn's is .27.

The poorest men on Mokil are illegitimate sons whose fathers have not acknowledged them, for such boys have little or no prospect of obtaining patrilineal coconut land. Most such men live as dependents in a paneyney related to them through the mother or through the man's wife if he stays on Mokil and marries there. Such a man is usually found either in a paneyney headed by his mother's brother, or in one headed by his wife's brother. Only one such illegitimate son has succeeded in establishing his own paneyney, at least in the present day. This man is Shoash (Joaj) the poorest man on Mokil by all counts. He controls 420 hundred sq. ft. of land, and with four people in his paneyney this amounts only to .24 acres per capita. Joaj himself owns no land at all, and the paneyney subsists as best it can on dowry land belonging to his mother and to his wife, with the addition of some charity from relatives of his mother. Joaj set up his own paneyney during our stay on Mokil. He, his wife and mother had been living previously with Christopher's (Kiristopa) paneyney. Christopher's father had married Joaj's mother after becoming a widower with a number of young children. Joaj had been born of an illegitimate union before his mother married Christopher's father, but her husband had accepted Joaj as part of his paneyney, an unusually generous gesture on his part. Unfortunately for Joaj and his mother she did not bear any children to Christopher's father. Nevertheless when her husband was on his death bed he counseled his own children to treat her as their mother and Joaj as their brother. This did not come to pass, however. Both Joaj and his mother were overworked and merely tolerated in Christopher's paneyney. Joaj meanwhile married and, although he had no children of his own, he adopted one of Christopher's children in an effort to cement more firmly his position in that paneyney. The situation finally became intolerable for Joaj and his family, however, so he established his own, bitterly impoverished paneyney rather than continue as a drudge in Christopher's household.

Table V  
Areas of Coconut and Dwelling Lots  
(In Hundreds of Square Feet)

(In Hundreds of Square Feet)															
Karlapan								Urak						Manton	
Lot	Area	Lot	Area	Lot	Area	Lot	Area	Lot	Area	Lot	Area	Lot	Area	Lot	Area
1	1364	37	16	79	340	120A	92	1	366	40	400	78	164	1	1648
2	36	38	224	80	244	121	280	2	340	41	224	79	536	2	560
3	192	39	28	81	704	122	384	3	212	42	108	79A	208	3	1104
4	284	40	28	82	840	123	424	4	360	43	148	80	152	4	856
5	420	41	28	83	796	124	812	5	204	44	148	80A	196	5	584
6	228	42	76	84	604	125	316	6	244	45	100	81	512	6	640
7	236	42A	20	85	428	126	92	7	228	46	124	82	192	7	220
8	360	42B	60	86	288	126A	16	7A	256	47	356	83	256	8	628
9	64	42C	32	87	192	127	136	8	452	48	188	84	568	9	812
10	64	43	68	88	384	128	280	9	580	49	180	85	308	10	244
11	116	44	48	89	428	129	84	10	556	50	376	86	248	11	204
11A	112	45	80	90	520	130	100	11	640	50A	40	87	748	12	60
12	440	46	192	91	580	131	176	12	1024	51	832	88	188	12A	136
13	428	47	104	92	372	131A	32	13	856	52	612	88A	144	13	368
14	12	48	52	93	244	132	416	14	1340	53	288	89	264	14	264
15	276	49	20	94	740	133	180	15	488	53A	80	90	192	15	400
16	556	50	860	95	208	134	463	16	436	54	404	91	720	16	68
16A	24	51	364	96	200	135	172	17	1140	55	188	92	124	16A	68
16B	136	52	144	97	320	136	196	18	1132	56	132	93	240	17	316
17	144	52A	180	98	292	137	560	19	1412	57	844	94	176	18	676
18	132	52B	172	99	632	138	32	20	752	58	1316	95	280	19	476
19	300	53	1216	100	400	139	120	20A	352	59	324	95A	788	20	312
20	336	54	72	101	568	139A	96	21	324	60	364	96	1768	21	284
20A	16	55	1552	102	300	140	212	22	1308	61	356	97	196	22	644
21	404	60	384	103	368	141	180	23	504	62	284	98	2760	23	680
21A	84	61	460	104	240	142	328	24	180	63	268			24	588
22	468	62	844	105	304	143	360	25	100	64	532			25	580
23	488	63	1204	105A	176	144	384	25A	132	64A	184			26	412
23A	224	63A	844	106	540	145	796	26	1492	64B	312			27	384
23B	80	64	1228	107	148	146	432	27	204	65	220			28	844
24	456	65	576	108	332	147	396	28	196	66	136			28A	288
25	264	66	512	109	300	148	364	29	480	67	312			28B	264
26	8	67	352	110	452	149	808	30	104	68	196			29	880
27	72	68	556	111	664	150	316	31	456	69	132			30	624
28	40	69	432	112	716	150A	52	32	532	70	200			30A	756
29	252	70	332	113	620	151	448	33	300	71	616			31	740
29A	48	71	292	114	424	151A	480	34	104	71A	92			31A	436
30	300	72	288	114A	380	152	44	35	596	71B	256			32	1152
31	60	73	332	115	944	153	628	36	428	72	364			33	324
32	100	74	624	116	960	154	180	36A	76	73	664			34	296
33	216	75	588	117	228	155	288	37	248	74	84			35	364
34	28	76	712	118	568			37A	72	75	188			36	448
35	192	76A	276	119	416			38	276	76	1144			37	484
36	40	77	420	120	884			39	252	77	172			38	172
		78	284											39	108
														40	196
														41	288
														42	408
														43	496
														44	496
														45	476
														46	108

Total Areas by Islets		
	Summation	Planimeter
Karlapan	62436	62420
Urak	48210	48326
Manton	24964	24876
Total	135510	135622



Numbers of Transfers and Amounts of Coconut Land Transferred to Individuals  
by Generations (100 square feet)

Generation of Recipient	Number of Transfers	Total Holdings	Mean Area per Transfer
D	33	160792	4873
E	110	150273	1366
F	166	161818	975
G	204	127062	623
H	95	66736	703
Total, all Generations	608	666681	1096
Total coconut land on Pokil Churchyard and two patches on Karlap, only, deducted.		132798	

Table VII

Transfer of Coconut Land by Sex and Generation  
Per Cent of Total in Each Generation

Generation of Recipient	1→1		1→2		2→3		2→2	
	O/O T	O/O A	O/O T	O/O A	O/O T	O/O A	O/O T	O/O A
D	64	79	30	20	6	1	0	0
E	31	45	39	30	16	14	14	11
F	31	31	22	23	28	30	19	16
G	33	50	25	14	27	25	15	11
H	22	46	33	15	20	28	25	12

T=Total number of transfers to members of each generation.  
A=Total area transferred to members of each generation.

Chart I  
POPULATION AND LAND PER CAPITA  
Circa 1770 to 1947

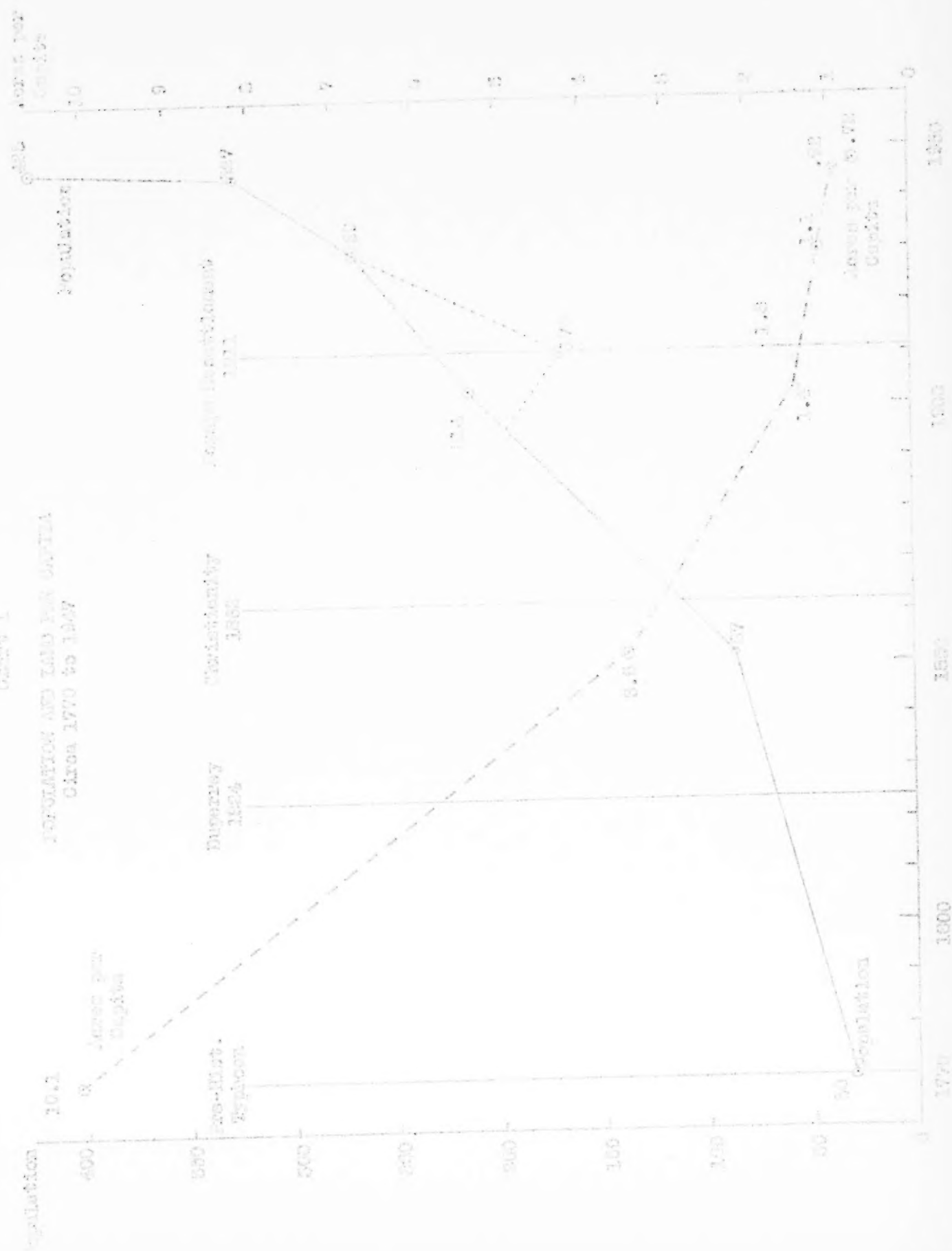


Table VIII

Receipts of Land by Generation D  
Showing Kinship of Donor to Recipient and  
Types of Occasions for Transfer of Land

Occasion	Sex	Kinship of Donor to Recipient									
		Father		F-Ad or St-Fath		Mother		M-Ad or St-Moth		Other Rel.	
		#T	Area	#T	Area	#T	Area	#T	Area	#T	Area
Inheritance at Death	4	10	93328								
	5	1	12360								
Gift at Marriage	4										
	5	3	10428	2	3200						
Gift for Services	4										
	5										
Free Gift	4										
	5										
Special Gift	4	1	3775	2	9374						
	5										
Recovery of Disputed Land	4										
	5										
Exchange for Land of Equal Value	4								1	100	
	5								1	2200	
Gift by Emigrant	4										
	5										
Purchase or "Lease"	4										
	5										
Unknown	4	3	10592	4	9694			1	1054		1
	5								2	1044	
Total, All Occasions	4	14	107496	6	19568			1	1054	1	100
	5	4	22782	2	3200				3	4144	
Grand Total	All	18	130284	8	22768			1	1054	4	4244

R in column heading means Recipient.

T in column heading means Transfers.



Other S Area	Non-Rel S		Non-Rel S		Total, S Donors			Total, S Donors			Total All Donors		
	#T	Area	#T	Area	#T	Area	Av Ar	#T	Area	Av Ar	#T	Area	Av Ar
					10	93128	9313				10	93128	9313
					1	12360	12360				1	12360	12360
					5	13628	2726				5	13628	2726
	1	1620			1	1620	1620				1	1620	1620
					3	13650	4550				3	13650	4550
					1	100	100				1	100	100
					1	2200	2200				1	2200	2200
812					7	20285	2898	2	1876	938	9	22162	2462
					2	1944	972				2	1944	972
812					21	127164	6055	2	1876	938	23	129040	5610
	1	1620			10	31752	3175				10	31752	3175
812	1	1620			31	158916	5126	2	1876	938	33	160792	4873

Table IX

Receipt of Land by Generation E  
Showing Kinship of Donor to Recipient and  
Types of Occasions for Transfer of Land

Occasion	Sex R	Kinship of Donor to Recipient											
		Father		F-M or M-Moth		Mother		M-M or F-Moth		Other Rel. 4		Other Rel.	
		T	Area	T	Area	T	Area	T	Area	T	Area	T	A
Inheritance at Death	♂	12	74263	1	1763	5	4844					3	2
	♀	5	9054			1	696			6	5576	2	3
Gift at Marriage	♂	4	3504			3	2360	1	972				
	♀	13	16946	4	3168	7	10824			3	2856		
Gift for Services	♂									1	196	2	7
	♀											1	
Free Gift	♂												
	♀									4	3408	1	
Special Gift	♂	1	812	2	2000			1	1212	1	6680	1	
	♀	1	952	1	572					3	1512		
Recovery of Disputed Land	♂												
	♀												
Exchange for land of Equal Value	♂									2	3920	1	10
	♀												
Gift by Emigrant	♂												
	♀											2	5
Purchase of "Lease"	♂												
	♀												
Unknown	♂			4	10704			1	960	2	1320		
	♀									1	580		
Total, All Occasions	♂	17	89304	7	14437	8	7204	3	3044	6	12116	7	112
	♀	20	26562	5	3740	8	11320			17	13872	6	52
Grand Total	All	37	65246	12	18227	15	18724	3	3044	23	25988	13	165

♂ in column heading means Recipient

♀ in column heading means Transfers

her 2	Non-Rel 1		Non-Rel 2		Total, 1 Donors			Total, 9 Donors			Total All Donors		
	Area	#T	Area	#T	Area	#T	Av Ar	Area	#T	Av Ar	Area	#T	Av Ar
2208					13	36751	2827	8	7052	882	21	43803	2086
3428					12	14580	1215	3	4124	1375	15	18704	1247
					4	3504	876	4	3232	808	8	6736	842
					20	22970	1149	7	10824	1546	27	33794	1252
7700	1	1032			2	1228	614	2	7700	3850	4	8928	2232
532								1	532	532	1	532	532
	2	344			2	344	172				2	344	172
752	1	184			5	3592	718	1	752	752	6	4344	724
308	1	144			5	9636	1927	2	1520	760	7	11156	1594
					5	2636	527				5	2636	527
			1	216				1	216	216	1	216	216
1044					2	3920	1960	1	1044	1044	3	4964	1655
552								2	552	276	2	552	276
					6	12024	2004	1	960	960	7	12984	1855
					1	580	580				1	580	580
11260	4	1520			34	67407	1983	18	21508	1195	52	88915	1710
5264	1	184	1	216	43	44358	1032	15	17000	1133	58	61358	1058
16524	5	1704	1	216	77	111765	1451	33	38508	1167	110	150273	1366



Table X

Receipt of Land by Generation F  
Showing Kinship of Donor to Recipient and  
Types of Occasions for Transfer of Land

Occasion	Sex R	Kinship of Donor to Recipient									
		Father		F-Ad or St-Fath		Mother		M-Ad or St-Moth		Other Rel. &	
		#T	Area	#T	Area	#T	Area	#T	Area	#T	Area
Inheritance at Death	♂	14	23776	2	6936	8	11948	2	4340	1	104
	♀	3	9230	1	1860	4	3584			6	6392
Gift at Marriage	♂	1	848	3	1880	8	7916	4	2728		
	♀	9	5156	5	6816	11	9292	5	3784	1	796
Gift for Services	♂									3	1116
	♀			1	228					1	236
Free Gift	♂									1	40
	♀										
Special Gift	♂	2	1440	6	4104	3	2112	4	4408	1	128
	♀			1	300	2	1728	2	1836	4	3520
Recovery of Disputed Land	♂									1	76
	♀										
Exchange for Land of Equal Value	♂									2	680
	♀	1	808					1	808	2	1516
Gift by Emigrant	♂									2	964
	♀					1	304			1	788
Purchase or "Lease"	♂									1	844
	♀										
Unknown	♂			2	3372			2	1664		
	♀										
Total, All Occasions	♂	17	26064	13	16292	19	21976	12	13140	12	3952
	♀	12	15194	8	9204	18	14908	8	6428	15	13248
Grand Total	All	29	41258	21	25496	37	36884	20	19568	27	17200

R in column heading means Recipient

T in column heading means Transfers

Other el. 2		Non-Rel 2		Non-Rel 2		Total, 3 Donors			Total, 2 Donors			Total All Donors		
#	Area	#	Area	#	Area	#	Area	AV AR	#	Area	AV AR	#	Area	AV AR
2	2140					17	30816	1813	12	18428	1536	29	49244	1698
1	580					10	17482	1748	5	4164	833	15	21646	1443
						4	2729	682	12	10544	887	16	13372	836
2	2288					14	12768	912	18	15364	854	32	28132	879
		4	2524	1	2272	7	3740	534	1	2272	2272	8	6012	752
1	980					2	464	232	1	980	980	3	1444	481
2	2248	1	324	1	48	2	304	182	3	2296	765	5	2660	532
6	2988					2	5672	630	13	9508	731	22	15180	690
						5	3820	764	4	3564	891	9	7384	820
		1	28			2	104	52				2	104	52
2	2236	1	32	1	638	3	712	237	3	2864	955	6	3576	596
1	1044	2	432			5	2756	551	2	1852	926	7	4608	658
						2	964	482				2	964	482
						1	788	788	1	304	304	2	1092	546
		3	520			4	1364	341				4	1364	341
						2	3372	1686	2	1664	832	4	5036	1259
2	9612	10	3528	3	2948	52	49836	958	47	47980	1021	98	97812	995
5	4892	2	432			37	38078	1029	30	25924	864	68	64306	946
7	14504	12	3960	3	2948	89	87914	968	77	73904	960	166	161818	975

Table XI

Receipt of Land by Generation G  
 Showing Kinship of Donor to Recipient and  
 Types of Occasions for Transfer of Land

Occasion	Sex R	Kinship of Donor to Recipient									
		Father		M-Ad or St-Moth		Mother		M-Ad or St-Moth		Other Rel.	
		#T	Area	#T	Area	#T	Area	#T	Area	#T	Area
Inheritance at Death	♂	37	50800	2	1013	17	14340	5	2720	3	1620
	♀	2	956			1	488				
Gift at Marriage	♂	5	2288	1	136	10	4086	2	1498	1	248
	♀	32	11380	3	900	22	10286	4	1340	8	2540
Gift for Services	♂			1	428					2	400
	♀										
Free Gift	♂									2	36
	♀					1	16			2	28
Special Gift	♂	1	1132	2	864			2	496	4	1912
	♀	2	1224	1	48	1	748			1	560
Recovery of Disputed Land	♂									2	1412
	♀										
Exchange for Land of Equal Value	♂									1	40
	♀										
Gift by Emigrant	♂										
	♀										
Purchase or "Lease"	♂										
	♀										
Unknown	♂										
	♀										
Total, All Occasions	♂	43	54220	6	2444	27	18428	9	4714	15	5668
	♀	36	13620	4	948	25	11540	4	1340	11	3128
Grand Total	All	79	67840	10	3392	52	29968	13	6054	26	8796

R in column heading means Recipient

T in column heading means Transfers



Other Pl. #	Area	Non-Rel #		Non-Rel #		Total, # Donors			Total, # Donors			Total All Donors		
		#	Area	#	Area	#	Area	AV Ar	#	Area	AV Ar	#	Area	AV Ar
9	4808					42	55436	1372	31	21868	705	73	75304	1032
1	596					2	956	478	2	1024	542	4	2040	508
						7	2672	382	12	5586	466	19	8258	435
						43	14820	345	26	11628	447	69	26448	383
		1	52			4	880	220				4	880	220
						2	36	18				2	36	18
						2	28	14	1	16	16	3	44	15
3	1196			1	475	7	3008	528	6	2168	361	13	6076	467
						4	1892	473	1	748	748	5	2640	528
2	724	2	1400			4	2812	703	2	724	362	6	3536	589
2	544					1	40	40	2	644	272	3	684	196
1	224								<b>1</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>224</b>
2	992								<b>2</b>	<b>992</b>	<b>496</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>992</b>	<b>496</b>
8	8264	3	1452	1	475	37	63794	952	55	31882	580	122	95666	783
2	820					31	17696	547	31	13700	442	82	31396	383
0	9084	3	1452	1	476	118	81480	691	86	45582	530	204	127062	623

Table XII

Receipt of Land by Generation H  
Showing Kinship of Donor to Recipient and  
Types of Occasions for Transfer of Land

Types of Occasions for Transfer of Land													
Occasion	Sex R	Kinship of Donor to Recipient											
		Father		W-Ad or St-Fath		Mother		W-Ad or St-Moth		Other Rel. 4		Other Rel.	
		#T	Area	#T	Area	#T	Area	#T	Area	#T	Area	#T	Area
Inheritance at Death	♂	13	27968			8	10556	2	1024			2	
	♀	2	2100			1	568	1	40				
Gift at Marriage	♂	4	1040			1	404			1	60		
	♀	24	6904	1	180	16	5236	3	1100	3	615	2	
Gift for Services	♂												1
	♀												
Free Gift	♂												
	♀	1	24										
Special Gift	♂	1	308			2	604	1	104				
	♀											1	
Recovery of Disputed Land	♂												
	♀												
Exchange for Land of Equal Value	♂												
	♀												
Gift by Emigrant	♂	1	268			1	624						
	♀												
Purchase or "Lease"	♂												
	♀												
Unknown	♂												
	♀												
Total, All Occasions	♂	19	29584			12	12188	3	1128	1	60	3	
	♀	27	9048	1	180	17	5904	4	1140	3	615	3	
Grand Total	All	46	38632	1	180	29	18092	7	2268	4	675	6	

R in column heading means Recipient  
T in column heading means Transfers

Other el. 9		Non-Rel 1		Non-Rel 2		Total, 4 Donors			Total, 9 Donors			Total All Donors		
T	Area	#T	Area	#T	Area	#T	Area	AV Ar	#T	Area	AV Ar	#T	Area	AV Ar
2	1136					13	27968	2151	12	12716	1060	25	40684	1627
						2	2120	1060	2	708	354	4	2828	707
						5	1100	220	1	404	404	6	1504	251
2	512					28	7700	275	21	6048	326	49	14548	297
1	396								1	396	396	1	396	396
						1	24	24				1	24	24
						1	308	308	3	708	236	4	1016	254
1	3776								1	3776	3776	1	3776	3776
						1	268	268	1	624	624	2	892	446
		1	844	1	224	1	844	844	1	224	224	2	1068	532
3	4912	1	844	1	224	21	30488	1452	19	18452	971	40	48940	1224
3	908					31	9844	318	24	7952	331	55	17796	324
6	5820	1	844	1	224	52	40332	776	43	26404	614	95	66736	703



## Chapter IV

Disputes Over Coconut Land

The study of disputed land titles in Mokil is very helpful for the light it throws on principles of land tenure and transfer. It also brings into relief certain Mokilese attitudes about justice, and the effects of differential prestige on the workings of the adjudication machinery. In the land disputes we will see instances of conflict between brothers and sisters, between older and younger siblings, between unrelated or very distantly related individuals of differential socio-economic prestige, etc. Disputes over land also constitute probably the most important single basis for conflict and dissention on Mokil and thus afford one the clearest insight into certain unformalized aspects of the culture such as clique formations and the basis of opposition of one clique to another. In this connection, incidentally, I obtained a number of very revealing indications of the lack of judicial detachment which characterizes most Mokilese where their own interests or the interest of some close associate or near relative are involved. Land disputes also helped to reveal how the Mokilese, packed together as they are on a tiny land area, manage to have emotional explosions from time to time without permanently disrupting the cooperative nature of the society. On several occasions we saw people practically at one another's throats in bitter arguments which it seemed to us would lead at least to non-speaking relationships for prolonged periods. Repeatedly, however, we saw the principal opponents of such fierce arguments amicably working together the next day, or perhaps even supporting one another in some other argument where their interests coincided. As will be seen from a number of the specific land disputes to be discussed in this chapter, the Mokilese have no way of effecting a decisive settlement of land disputes. The actual possessor of a piece of land in dispute has a powerful advantage over his adversary, but neither the adversary nor his children nor their children give up their claim or plight the possessor to forget it. In time it may happen, as has happened repeatedly in the past, that the claimant will be in a position of power which will enable him to force his adversary to give up all or part of the disputed land. Then the person who has been forced to yield will have an unsatisfied claim which may again go on indefinitely.

This is one of the areas where an outside administrative power might be able to make life smoother and less contentious on Mokil. To do so successfully, however, would require a thorough understanding of principles of land transfer approved by the Mokilese, and probably even some cautious codification of their ideas. It would be essential not to accept the spokespersonship solely of the men in positions of power and authority on Mokil, because these men, like all men of high position and authority on Mokil in the past, take advantage of their positions to further their own interests. So would any of the other inhabitants of Mokil if they were elevated to positions of power and authority.

There are two kinds of disputes over land on Hokil. The most important type concerns title to an entire piece of property, and this is the type of dispute I shall discuss at length. The other kind of dispute, which the Hokilese call "pushing", arises from the fact that there are no permanent boundary markers for either coconut or taro land. Boundaries between coconut land properties are formed by planting pairs of coconut trees side by side at intervals along the boundary. These boundaries are conceived as made up mostly of straight lines of a given bearing, as shown on our maps, but actually one can not see very far through the brush, and it is to be assumed that most of the boundaries are more or less sinuous. This situation gives the "pusher" an opportunity to ply his art if the owner of adjacent property is not sufficiently vigilant to protect his boundaries. The technique of "pushing" is to plant young coconut trees over the line on your neighbor's lot at points where the boundary marker trees are far apart. On occasion when owners have been away from Hokil for several years at a time, or else extremely lacking in vigilance, "pushers" are even alleged to have planted new boundary marker trees side by side, thus establishing a new boundary and helping themselves to a sizeable portion of the neighbor's plot. Our maps show several places where aggressive men have absorbed some of their neighbors' land by the technique of "pushing". Interestingly, the boundary lines were drawn in the field by Mr. Bentzen without his being aware that "pushing" had occurred on the various lots. This information came out when I was getting the history of land transfers. "Pushing" does not occur on the northern end of Karlap where nearly all the residences are, because everyone is able to keep track of his boundaries in that region. The happy hunting ground for the "pusher" is the south end of Karlap, and the other two islets, which are plantation land visited only occasionally by owners. Some of the instances where "pushing" can be detected on the maps are: Lot 92 on Karlap has been widened at the ocean end at the expense of Lot 93. The northern boundary line of Karlap 106 originally was the dotted line shown on the map, and this too has been widened at the ocean side at the expense of Lot 105.

The most dramatic case of "pushing" known to me concerns Lot 47 on Urak. This piece of land was given to Jorin's father by Harry's parents in return for his helping them, an elderly couple, while Harry was away from Hokil several years working. Harry claims that the original north-south boundary of Lot 47 was a continuation of the line which separates Lots 40 and 41, and that the east-west boundary was a continuation of the boundary which separates Lots 45 and 46. In other words, Jorin's father and Jorin himself have, according to Harry, "pushed" in both directions and virtually doubled the size of the original piece of land, mostly at the expense of Harry who owns Lot 40. On one occasion many years ago Harry charged Jorin in a public meeting with being a no-account who had to get land by taking underhanded advantage of other people.<sup>1</sup> The argument

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<sup>1</sup>The "pusher" is always belittled as well as resented, and "pushing" is felt to be in part a confession of abject poverty; no man with a decent amount of land would demean himself to acquire the small bit that can be obtained by "pushing".

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between Harry and Jorin at the public meeting led to grappling between the two men during which Jorin seized one of Harry's ears in his teeth. Other men at the meeting chose this particular moment to separate the two combatants, and two groups laid hold of them and forcibly pulled them apart. Unfortunately, Jorin did not unclench his teeth so a piece of Harry's ear accompanied him. The villagers attempted to sew Harry's severed ear back together, but were unsuccessful.

The more serious form of land dispute, both in terms of the dissention it creates and in terms of the amount of land involved, is the dispute of title to whole pieces of land. There are about thirty lots on Mokil, roughly ten per cent of the total number of lots of coconut land, whose title is clouded or in dispute. Two-thirds of these are on Karlap, only three on Urak, and nine on Manton. The total area involved in these title disputes constitutes between nine and ten per cent of all the coconut land on Mokil. I shall take up the discussion of the various disputes by lot numbers which can be identified on our field map:

K-12, K-112 and Urak-33 are in the possession of Harry, but are claimed by his first cousin Shimina (Jimina), who lives in Ponape. Harry's grandfather, Hosos, divorced his Gilbert island wife, Shinoa (Sinoa), after she had borne him a son and a daughter. He allegedly divorced her because she had yaws. At the time of the divorce he settled the three pieces of coconut land on her to provide a livelihood for herself and the two children. Shinoa left this land, undivided, to her son, William, and her daughter, Wonevish. William and Wonevish both married and stayed on Mokil. William had the one son, Shimina, and Wonevish had several daughters and two sons, one of whom died. Her surviving son is Harry, head of a panoyney on Mokil today and the present holder of this disputed land.

William died while his son Shimina was a small boy, and during his fatal illness asked his sister to care for his young son. (William's wife was a woman from Ponape to whom he apparently did not want to trust his son nor his share of his mother's land.) Shimina lived with his aunt five or six years after his father's death until he was in early adolescence. Then his Ponape grandfather came to Mokil and insisted upon taking Shimina back to Ponape with him. This was done against the wishes of the boy's aunt and grandmother and, according to Harry, Shinoa told the boy that if he chose to leave Mokil to live with his Ponape relatives he would forfeit all right to the Mokil land. It is to be noted here that Shinoa, although by then an aged woman, still had the say over land she had relinquished to her children years before.

Shimina, who is now sixty seven years old, has lived on Ponape almost all the time since his grandfather took him there as a boy. The only time during this interval that he has resided on Mokil was for a period of about five years shortly after the 1905 typhoon when Harry's father brought him back to Mokil to extricate him from a scrape he had gotten into on Ponape. While



Shimina was living with Harry's paneyney on Mokil the German officials came to the island to offer people the opportunity to homestead land in the Sokas district of Ponape. Harry's father decided to take up such a claim, and moved to the Sokas district for a few months to establish his claim. He then returned to Mokil and sent Shimina back to develop the Sokas land because Shimina was experienced in the very different type of agriculture practiced on Ponape. The plan was for Shimina and Harry to make one paneyney, with all land jointly owned, and with the understanding that the two young men could exchange residences from time to time if they so desired.

Shimina, however, apparently acquired the "piece of paper" (homestead deed supplied by the Germans), and after a number of years, when both Harry's mother and father had died, stated that the Ponape land belonged exclusively to him, Shimina. (There are other instances in which the Germans permitted individuals to establish exclusive title to Sokas land that had been homesteaded as a family project.) Shimina is now attempting to claim the three lots on Mokil as well, on the basis that his claim is through his father, whereas Harry's claim is through his mother. The point Harry stresses, however, is that ever since William's death, sixty odd years ago, all the Mokil land has been cared for by Harry's parents and later by Harry himself, plus the fact that the Ponape land was really homesteaded by Harry's father and that it was supposed to become the joint property of Harry and Shimina. Shimina does not propose to live on the Mokil land himself if he should wrest it from Harry. He wants it, rather, for his own daughter and for the son of a daughter of his wife by a former marriage whom he has adopted. Clearly the claims of the people Shimina wants to put on the land are not as valid as Harry's. There is, in addition, the important fact of occupancy of this land for sixty years by Harry's parents and himself which, in other cases, has clinched the title for the possessor. It seems to me, therefore, that most or all of this land should be awarded permanently to Harry. He, however, is a thorn in the side of King August and the ruling clique because of his outspoken criticism for various of their activities. Moreover, Shimina's wife is a daughter of one of the paneyneys which works in close harmony with King August. Under these circumstances it is a foregone conclusion that August will support Shimina against Harry, and Harry may eventually lose the land if colonial officials, to whom the case will doubtless be appealed, listen only to Mokil officials on the theory that such individuals are impartial public servants.

K-15 is another lot whose title is in dispute. K-132 and 133, as well as some taro land, are involved in the same dispute. All this land originally belonged to Shepalenpo, Harry's father's father, who gave it to his younger son, Aidak, when the baby was adopted by Lonmen and his Gilbert wife, Rebo. I. Rebo adopted

[see next page  
for footnote]

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1. In the old days when land was plentiful it was not uncommon for a father thus to give land to a child of his who has been adopted into another paneyney.

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Aidak out of sentimental reasons because his mother was from the same island in the Gilberts as she was. Harry's and August's accounts differ as to the terms under which Shep\*lenpo originally gave this land. Harry says it was given to Rebo for use during Aidak's minority with the understanding that it was all to be turned over to him when he reached manhood. August says it was given to her for the joint use of her<sup>sister</sup> and Aidak. Harry's story accords with what apparently was the usual procedure in the days when fathers gave land to their children adopted out.

Aidak lived with Rebo from the time he was weaned until he was killed, as a young married man without children, while diving for shells in Yap. Meanwhile Lonmen had died and Rebo accompanied her daughter when the latter married Mak, King August's grandfather. After Aidak's death, Labo, his older brother and Harry's father, demanded that Rebo return the land brought to her by Aidak. According to Harry this, too, is in line with the customary usage on Mokil. 1. Rebo did not refuse to return the land, but protested

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1. If land passes out of apaneyney through adoption and the person who takes it out dies without children, the land properly reverts to the paneyney that originally held it. There are other instances where such reversions did occur.

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that she was an old woman and needed it for security, and that she would see that it reverted to Labo when she died. Labo was not happy about this, but being a man of little drive, he acceded to her plea.

Rebo lived all her life with Mak's paneyney. When Mak died his widow soon remarried and left Mak's children with Rebo to raise. Rebo lived until Mak's only son, Joel, was married, had several children, and had succeeded to the kingship. When she died Joel took over lots K-15, K-132 and K-133. The evidence is not entirely clear, but it seems probable that Rebo willed these lots to Joel, ignoring Labo's claim on them which he had not pursued with sufficient intensity. At any rate, Joel refused to return any of this land to Labo.

It has all since passed out of August's paneyney. August's younger brother received K-15 from Joel when he married the first daughter of Alen and joined Alen's paneyney. Joel gave lot K-132 to his sister as dowry when she married Walter Dennis, the father of Schwab. He gave K-133 to an adopted daughter as dowry when she married into another paneyney. Here we see a good example of the quick disposal of land to which title is clouded. There is no doubt in my mind that Harry's father had

custom on his side in demanding the return of these three pieces of Karlap coconut land. His failure to press his claim aggressively plus the superior position of power and prestige enjoyed by the king's paneyney have probably resulted in the permanent alienation of these lots from Labo's descendants.

According to Harry, Joseph Belep, the head of a theoretical paneyney who really lives as a dependent with King August's paneyney, properly has a claim to half of lot K-23, the king's residence area. This lot originally belonged to Lonmen, and was brought by his widow, Rebo, to Mak's paneyney when her daughter married Mak. Rebo and Lonmen had previously adopted Belep, son of Lonmen's sister Shalis and Charles Sturges. He, too, came with Rebo to Mak's paneyney. He was older than Joel, but was not sufficiently smart to "make business" during Joel's minority. Evidence suggests that Belep may have been feeble minded, at least he was extremely erratic and did eventually become insane before he died. At any rate, Harry says that before Rebo's death she divided her and Lonmen's land between Joel and Belep, specifying that half of lot K-23 was to go to each. No boundary was ever established, and when Belep was scandalously divorced and then left Mokil to live in Pingelap with his second wife's people, he forfeited his rights to the powerful king's paneyney. These rights involved not only this residence site, but two pieces of coconut land on Manton which King August claimed as his when we originally made our field map. Later, however, when my detailed investigation of the history of land transactions made it apparent that the history of the two Manton lots would become known, King August announced one day that these two pieces were really the property of Joseph, son of Belep, who lives as a semi-dependent with August's paneyney.

Lots K-23A and K-23B were originally one, and belonged to a man named Job (Jop) who gave them to his daughter as dowry when she married a Pingelap man. She and her Pingelap husband lived on this land, and had two sons. Thereafter they were divorced, and the woman remarried a Ponape man and went to live in Ponape. Her brother took over lots 23A and 23B in the informal way brothers usually acquire the dowry property of sisters who leave Mokil. Some years later, however, about 1928, Schwab was in Ponape when the woman who had received this land as dowry offered to sell it to him. He gave her two hundred yen for it without waiting to consult the woman's brother who had a strong claim on the land since it was patrilineal land prior to being given as dowry. The woman's brother, Willie Job (Wele Jop), resisted giving up the land, but Schwab used his power and prestige, plus the clinching argument that he had already paid the two hundred yen for it, and took possession of these lots. Shortly afterward he gave them as dowry to his daughter when she married Able (Epel), the eldest son of King August. King August has eliminated the boundary, and now considers K-23, K-23A and K-23B as a single piece of property, the king's house sight.



The foregoing does not conclude the dissention concerning this bit of land. A further story concerns Lot 23B, specifically,<sup>1</sup>.

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1. This information was gathered by Mr. Bentzen after I left the field.

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The additional controversy is one in which a large segment of the Mokil populace is aligned against King August and his clique. It hinges about the fact that until August's reign the residence of the king was traditionally on Lot K-46. The lagoon site of K-46, according to many spokesmen outside King August's clique, has been considered as public or "district" land since the days of Sharkiben. When August moved down to his present habitation site he planted all of Lot K-46 in coconuts as his personal property. He then persuaded the men of the village to build the official wharf, a laboriously constructed pier, the school and the district offices all on Lot 23B. This was all done as public work, without expense to King August. It was the definite understanding of a large proportion of Mokil men that King August intended to donate all of Lot 23B to the public as district land to replace the public portion of lot 46. August and his son Able, however, whose wife brought this land to the king's paneyney as dowry, say it is only loaned to the district and is still the private property of King August's paneyney. Able says specifically that should he not succeed his father as king Lot 23B will belong to him and his wife, and will not be available for public use. This situation is currently a source of considerable bitterness on the part of a large segment of the Mokil public against King August and his henchmen.

Lots K-36, K-37 and K-38 are involved in a controversy which began four generations ago when old King Watakwa was alive. The family which now possesses Lot 38, headed by a young man named Pernel, states that Watakwa gave all three pieces to his youngest son, Matthew (Matu), before Watakwa died. Pernel is the eldest son of Matthew's <sup>grandson, Willie</sup> wife. The paneyney which disputes this story is headed by Olten (Cliton), the second son of Paulina (Polina), who was the only child of Rosa (Rota) who in turn was the daughter of Watakwa and the older sister of Matthew. Olten claims that all three of these lots were given by Watakwa to Rosa rather than to Matthew. According to Olten's story Matthew asked his sister for permission to build a house on this then undivided piece of land. Rosa agreed upon Matthew's promise that should she die first Matthew would care for her only child, Paulina, and give the whole property to Paulina when she married. Matthew died before Rosa did, but passed this land on to his son Job with instructions not to give it back to Rosa or Paulina. Both parties agree that Job had possession of all this land throughout his life, and that he passed it on to his son Willie at his death. Paulina attempted to extract the piece of land from Willie, but he denied that it had ever belonged to Rosa, and claimed that he had inherited it in the direct patrilineal line from Watakwa. Paulina then suggested that Willie cut the piece in half for a compromise settlement,

but Willie refused to do this either.

Willie died in 1920 when his son, Pernel, was about six years old. Paulina then came to Willie's widow, according to the Pernel paneyney version, and again demanded half of the total land. The demand was refused, continues this story, and Paulina took her troubles to the Japanese government in Ponape. The Japanese ruled that Willie's widow should permit Paulina, now a very old woman, to build a house on what is now lot 37, that when Paulina died the land should revert to Willie's widow and Pernel. This reversion provision is, of course, denied by Olten's paneyney. Paulina did build a house on lot 37, and lived there until her death, sometime around 1935. The house, uninhabited, subsequently fell to pieces, but Olten, the son of Paulina, continued to take the produce of the large breadfruit tree and the few banana plants that grew on this small plot.

I believe that by now Pernel and his paneyney reluctantly accept the fact of Olten's ownership of lot 37. During our stay on Mokil, within two weeks after our arrival in fact, there was a tremendous argument between these two paneyneys over this small plot of ground. At least fifty or seventy-five people became embroiled, and for a while we thought the men would come to blows and the old ladies begin tearing each other's hair. This argument was concerned with the precise size of lot 37 which Pernel claimed Olten was trying to enlarge at the expense of his land, lot 38.

I believe Olten and his paneyney still cherish the thought of taking part or all of lot 38 away from the Pernel paneyney. I also think that Pernel reluctantly concedes the ownership of lot 37 by Olten's paneyney in the hopes that it will quiet their demands for more of the land. Pernel has one powerful claim to lot 38, at least from the inside path to the lagoon shore, in the fact that it has been the dwelling site for his paneyney through four generations. Claims on traditional dwelling sites are probably stronger on Mokil than almost any other claim to land. Usually dwelling sites are passed from father to oldest son in perpetuity, are the most thoroughly patrilineal land of all.

Lot 36, meanwhile, has probably been effectively removed from the controversy, and I think it unlikely that the ownership of this lot will be questioned. Lot 36 was given by Willie around 1921 to his half-brother, a younger son of Natu by a different wife. Willie wanted to eliminate his half-brother from his paneyney after his father died, and gave him this house site so the half-brother could set up an independent establishment. The half-brother made no payment of any sort for the land, but, on the other hand, he had worked for many years for Job and Willie as a subordinate male in their paneyney.

I would like to call attention to one situation that now exists which at the moment is not controversial, but which it seems to me might well become so within another generation or two. This concerns lot K-45 which now unquestionably belongs to Clinton (Kilinten), son of Julius and grandson of Rupin. Clinton, as the eldest son of Julius, took this family dwelling site for himself when he divided Julius' land between himself and his two brothers after the father died. This act was strictly in accordance with Mokil procedure. Later, Clinton's youngest brother, Isaac, requested and received permission from Clinton to build a house on the back of this lot. Isaac has another house on the lagoon shore somewhat south of the main center of habitation, and now divides his time between the two houses. It seems to me quite likely that Isaac's descendants may eventually claim the right of ownership to the plot of ground on which this second house stands.

Lots K-53 and 54 originally belonged to Shalis, the wife of Charlie Dennis, and Schwab's grandmother. Shalis' father was a Marshall islander who lived with her and her husband after her marriage. When he died she missed him so much that she asked her husband to go to the Marshalls and bring her father's brother to Mokil to take her father's place. This Charlie Dennis did, and Shalis gave her uncle, Luther (Luta), lots 53 and 54. William Luther, the son of Shalis' uncle and head of one of the poorer paneyneys on Mokil today, insists that this land was given to his father in perpetuity. Schwab, the island's richest man, and his loyal friend King August, are equally insistent that the land was given to Luther only for use during his lifetime, and that it was to revert to Shalis' son at Luther's death.

Shortly after Charlie Dennis had been imprisoned by the Germans in <sup>the</sup> Mortlocks for profiteering in Pingelap after the 1905 typhoon, he instructed his son Walter to take back all of lots 53 and 54. At this time, however, Walter took back only the part of lot 53 behind the path and south of the dotted extension of the boundary with lot 54. He thus left in the possession of Luther lot 54, its extension back to the ocean, and the lagoon shore or house site portion of lot 53. Later, while Charlie was still in the Mortlocks he arranged for the purchase of a boat from a Pingelap man and instructed his son Walter to take back the rest of the land that had been given to Luther, and to give it to the Pingelap man in exchange for the boat. At that time Walter took back the oceanward extension of lot 54, but left lot 54 itself and the lagoon shore of 53 still in Luther's hands. He did not give the land to the Pingelap man, but paid for the boat with money instead. About 1917, after both Luther and Charlie Dennis had died, Shalis and her son Walter took back from the heirs of Luther the lagoon shore portion of what is now lot 53.

The above story is the one told by King August, and undoubtedly subscribed to by Schwab. It intimates that Shalis was in favor of recovering the land she had given to Luther, and bolsters their story that this land was given only for use during Luther's lifetime. Other informants, however, agree with William Luther that the land was all given in perpetuity, and that Shalis



resisted its reabsorption by Charlie and his son Walter.

At the present time Schwab is trying to force William to give up lot 54, not to return it to Schwab, but to give it to Smith, son of William's deceased elder brother and presently working with William in a "partnership paneyney". William is bitterly resisting this intrusion in his affairs, and insists upon his right to occupy the dwelling site his father lived in during his entire stay on Mokil. William threatens to "throw away" both his lot and a small plot of bare land he got via Shalis unless Schwab stops badgering him. Schwab says that if William throws this land away he, Schwab, will give it to Smith. William says that in that event he will kill Smith. There the matter uneasily rests.

Lot K-62 descended patrilineally from Mwenshonit to Zacharias who gave it to the first child of his adopted daughter Wenewish. This was one of the old time gifts to the first born grandchild, only in this case Zacharias had no children of his own, and made the gift to the first child of his eldest adopted daughter. The girl's father, Labo, acquired this lot from his daughter through a complex three-way trade, so that he could turn it over to a Pingelap friend, a man who wanted to come to Mokil to live part time and needed a house site for the purpose. According to the story told by Labo's son, Harry, the Pingelap man gave Labo \$80 Spanish for the use of the lot. Harry insists this was nowhere near enough to purchase the land, and that Labo stipulated that if the Pingelap man returned to his own island this lot would revert to Labo. After moving to Mokil, however, the Pingelap man became a very close friend of his next door neighbor and turned the lot over to him instead of to Labo when he returned to Pingelap. Labo, strictly in character, failed to pursue his claim if he had one. This lot went through many vicissitudes in the following years. It finally wound up, around 1930, in George Higgins' possession at least to the extent that he was cutting the copra on it. At that time a Japanese surveyor mapped Mokil and recorded the ownership of each lot. Joel, then king, informed the surveyor that lot 62 belonged to a Pingelap man, whereupon the surveyor remarked that he did not think this was a good idea and that some Mokil man ought to buy it back. The son of the Pingelap man happened to be with the ship that brought the Japanese surveyor, and Joel quickly made a deal with him to purchase lot 62 for 200 yen.

Harry had just returned from working for a Japanese trader in the Marshall Islands, and had 500 yen in cash. At the urging of his older sister he went to Joel and demanded the right to buy back this lot which had belonged to Harry's father. At the same time, in the typical Mokil fashion of bringing up as many controversies as possible at once, Harry also made an ineffectual

demand for lots K-15, K-132 and K-133 (controversy described earlier). Harry was unable to get anywhere with the king, however, and lost his chance to obtain this lot. It later developed that the money used to purchase it had been Schwab's, and Schwab emerged as the new owner of the lot.

Harry is particularly incensed about this transaction on two counts: first, Joel failed to tell the Japanese surveyor that it was Labo had sold the lot to the Pingelap man, although the surveyor apparently asked the specific question; second, Harry had several times previously, according to his story, offered the Pingelap man 200 yen plus a piece of land that belonged to Harry's mother in Pingelap for lot 62. Harry feels that Schwab and Joel put over a fast deal on the Pingelap man by intimidating him with the statement that the Japanese disapproved his owning Mokil property. Lot 62 will probably stay permanently in the hands of Schwab and his heirs.

Lot K-83 belonged to Maraia, the woman who married Sheshua (Jejua) and later took Sheshua's land to Jim, the Gilbertese man she married after Sheshua died. Maraia's daughter Nelly (Neli) had an illegitimate son, Apesolem, and later married a man from Manila and went with him to live in Rabaul. Nelly was given lot 83 by her mother when she married, but of course could not take effective possession of it since she emigrated and never returned. Her illegitimate son continued to live in the Jim-Maria paneyney after both the old folks died, and stayed with his uncle, Shapit (Japit) when the latter's younger brother insisted upon their making two separate paneyneys. Shapit kept Nelly's dowry lot, and also took in Apesolem who stayed with Shapit until some fifteen years ago. Apesolem had meanwhile married Selina, another illegitimate child, and the two of them had no claim on land except for this piece of dowry land that properly belonged to Apesolem's mother. Shapit mistreated Apesolem to such a degree that he and his wife eventually left to take up residence as dependants in the paneyney headed by her mother's brother. When the couple left Shapit's paneyney he refused to let them take lot 83 and still holds it. Public sympathy seems to be with Apesolem, and the opinion seems to be general that by rights he should have this piece of land. Shapit, however, is a ruthless and ferocious man, and no one has dared do more than sympathize with Apesolem.

Lot K-99 was given by Rupin to his daughter Anasi when she first married. Anasi married and divorced four different men on Mokil, a Pingelap man, and finally married a Ponape man with whom she still lives in Ponape. She kept possession of this piece of dowry land throughout her marital adventures, and left it in the care of her older brother, Lorin, when she went to live in Ponape. Some years ago Anasi's daughter married the son of another Mokil emigrant to Ponape, and at that time Anasi instructed her brother to give half of her dowry land to this daughter, presumably to be amalgamated with the land of her husband's paneyney on Mokil. At the same time she instructed her brother to hold the other half of the land against the time when Anasi's son might come

to Mokil to live. To date Lorin has not made the division on the grounds that Anasi's daughter has remained in Ponape and has not come to Mokil to collect her dowry. The girl's father-in-law is trying to get control of it, but so far without success. It is a fair assumption that Lorin is trying to retain control of this whole piece of land.

The controversy regarding Karlap lots 109 and 110 illustrates the potential superiority of the claim of lineal descendants of a donor over adopted children, even after a lapse of two generations. These lots originally belonged to Okatau and were given by him to Lapoko when he adopted this son of Mwenshonit. Lapoko gave them to his daughter Litakalin (Lidia) when she married Shutakanua, the eldest son of Sinipo who was killed in the early feuding. After his death she married Kamere, a grandson of Mwenshonit. Lidia had no children of her own by either marriage, but she and Kamere adopted two or three children, including Harry's father, Labo. Lidia gave both of these lots to Labo when he was a young, unmarried man. Some years later, Lorish, son of another daughter of Lapoko, adopted one of Labo's daughters. On this occasion Labo turned these two lots over to Lorish with instruction that they should be given to his daughter as dowry when she married. Lorish died, however, while Labo's daughter was still a young girl and she returned to her own father. Labo then asked Lorish's mother, Asikinia, daughter of Lapoko, to return this land to him. She stalled, saying she would keep the land until Labo's daughter married and then give it to her. She died before this event occurred. When the marriage occurred Labo went to Asikinia's surviving son, David (Tepit), half brother of Lorish, and attempted to secure this land as dowry for his daughter. David refused to give it up on the grounds that it had belonged to his paternal grandfather, and that when his mother's sister, Lidia, died childless it should have reverted to his mother Asikinia. Lot 109 has since been given as dowry to a granddaughter of David, and 110 is still in the possession of David's son who now heads the panyney.

I feel sure the outcome of this controversy would have been different had different personalities been involved in it. In the first place, Labo was simple minded by Mokil standards to permit this land to come under the control of people who had a species of lineal claim to it. This in itself was almost "throwing the land away" and is so regarded by the Mokilese today. In the second place, everyone agrees that the land originally belonged to Okatau of whom Labo was a great grandson by direct patrilineal descent. Lidia almost certainly had this in mind when she gave the land to him, thus returning to the patrilineal line land which had been given to an adopted son by Okatau. Had Labo been a more forceful character with greater prestige he probably could have asserted successfully the primacy of his patrilineal claim over the claims of David.



Lot K-144 has been dowry land for three generations, passing from mother to daughter. On the last such occasion Kilara, wife of Samuel, gave it to her daughter Martha (Mata) when the latter married a Japanese resident trader on Mokil. Martha kept this lot when they were divorced, and took it with her when she married Jack (Jek) Rupin. This is perfectly in accordance with Mokil practice regarding dowry land. When Mr. Bentzen was in Ponape on his return from the field, however, he found that Samuel, Martha's father, claims he gave this lot to his son Lanka, who has been adopted by Clinton (Kilinten), Jack Rupin's brother, and that Jack appropriated it.

This situation is part of two interwoven and quite involved controversies. Clinton, Jack, and Isaac are the three sons of Julius Rupin in age order. Jack is particularly aggressive man who seized some land of his father's before Clinton, the eldest son, had an opportunity to make the division. There is a great deal of bad feeling between the three brothers. Lanka is involved in these hard feelings because he was adopted by childless Clinton from his wife's relatives, whereas the two brothers feel he should have adopted children from among his own relatives (i. e., their sons). Also involved in this situation is the fact that Lanka is thoroughly out of favor with his own father, Samuel. A couple of years ago, in fact, he committed the unforgivable offense of physically attacking his father and giving him a terrible beating. Samuel's role in this so called land controversy appears to be simply to avoid giving Lanka land by claiming that this piece should be his already and also slyly to stir up further trouble between the three sons of Julius Rupin. Martha clearly has a right to this lot in accordance with all Mokil custom regarding dowry land. I think her parents could only have taken back land given her as dowry and reassigned it if she had committed some scandalous offense which forced her to leave Mokil.

When Opet's first daughter, Jennie (Jeni), was married Opet asked his sister-in-law, Lenpo (Lutinia), to let him give his daughter her lot K-148 in return for which Opet promised to give her a piece of his land on Urak. Lenpo acceded to his wish and K-148 went to Jennie who passed it on to her son, Ernest, the present preacher, but Opet has never made the presentation of Urak land to Lenpo or her descendants. This was undoubtedly a sly trick on Opet's part to secure to himself the equivalent of some of his half-brother's land. James (Jemes), Opet's half-brother was one of Mokil's famous ne'er-do-wells. He obtained some land from his mother when he married Lenpo. They had two children after which Lenpo divorced him because he would not work and help provide for the family. James left Mokil in disgrace and died in Australia as a crew member on a whaling ship. Lenpo kept the land he had

brought to the marriage which was her right since she and James had had children. Opet's coup, however, tricked her into returning the equivalent of some of this land to him, in effect, so that he was able to give dowry land to his daughter without reducing his own holdings.

Title to lot 11 in Urak is not yet disputed but Schwab has been engaged in some chicanery concerning it and the evidence suggests strongly that he is attempting to seize it. Frank (Baraik), son of the original Shalis and Charles Sturges, received this lot from his mother's sister who adopted him. Baraik's mother was a first cousin once removed of the younger Shalis who was Schwab's grandmother. Baraik was an erratic and perhaps mentally sub-normal man who never succeeded in establishing his own panyney although he had six children. His children scattered as they grew up, and today one of his two living sons is in the Mortlock Islands, and the other has established himself on Kusaie. Baraik himself spent much of his life away from Mokil, but returned as an old man and lived out the remainder of his life with Georgetown (Jojten), son of one of his half-brothers and head of a panyney on Mokil today. Georgetown kept lot U-11 when Baraik died, probably partly on the basis of his kinship claim and partly in return for the care he had bestowed on Baraik. Tilinken (P. Lincoln?), Baraik's second son, had been adopted by Schwab's father Walter and grew up in that household as an adopted brother of Schwab. Walter made no land bequest to Tilinken who married a Kusaie woman and moved there when he grew up.

About 1925 Tilinken asserted his ownership of U-11 when he returned to Mokil to raise 200 yen in order to set up a billiard parlor in Kusaie. Schwab was willing to lend the money to Tilinken who instructed Georgetown to turn lot U-11 over to Schwab so the latter could cut copra from the land to recover his loan. Schwab was to keep the lot until he had cut copra from it valued at 250 yen so that he would have a profit. Then the lot was to revert to Georgetown's use. Schwab has cut many times 250 yen worth of copra from this piece of land, but still is using it. I believe Schwab is attempting to capitalize on the fact that Tilinken's interests are centered in Kusaie, and that Georgetown does not have a very strong claim on this lot in the attempt to keep it and establish title to it himself.

The controversy over U-33 between Harry and Shimina has already been described in connection with the discussion of lots K-12 and K-112.

The way land can slip through the fingers of an ineffectual panyney head is illustrated by the histories of Labo and Baraik in their land dealings. Lot U-95A is another piece

Maria

which Baraik's heirs have lost to an aggressive Johnny-on-the-spot. This piece once belonged to ~~Maria~~, the woman who first married the Mokil man Sheshua, and after he died took most of his land to her Gilbertese second husband Jim, through whom it has descended to the present paneyneys headed by Shapit and Lewellyn. Esther (Ejiter), Maria's daughter, received this land as dowry when she married Baraik, kept it when she divorced him, married a Malay man, and moved to Ponape. The land was used by the Maria-Jim paneyney, although title still was acknowledged to rest with Esther when Shapit and Lewellyn divided into separate paneyneys after the death of their parents. Sometime later Esther died in Ponape while her son Tilinken was living as an adopted member of Walter Dennis' family. Her half-brother Shapit was with her in Ponape when she died, and he returned to Mokil with the story that Esther had "spoken to him" before she died, telling him to take this land and keep it. He had no witnesses and many people on Mokil think he lies, and that Esther really intended lot U-95A for her son Tilinken. Tilinken protested Shapit's appropriating it, but Shapit stood by his statement that he had been spoken to and asserted his aggressive personality. These facts, plus the fact that Tilinken has since moved to Kusaie and established himself there, have enabled Shapit to keep possession of this sizeable piece of coconut land.

Nine plots are in dispute on Mantan. Lot M-2 is involved in two separate title disputes. This lot was given to Juliana by her mother Leynpo (Iutinia) when the former was adopted as a baby by Peter. Juliana ran away from her father by adoption when she was about ten years old and returned to her mother. Leynpo tried to retrieve the land, but Peter put her off with what we may now note is the standard excuse in such cases, the promise that he would give the lot to Juliana when she married. Peter, however, gave neither this nor any other piece of land to Juliana when she married, and refused to give the lot back to her mother on the grounds that he had had it a long time and proposed to keep it. Peter was king at this time and was making use of his power to perpetrate an injustice in his own interests. Peter had no claim on this land at all except the very tenuous one that it had once belonged to his great-grandfather by adoption, Sinipo.

Years after Peter's death, just before World War II broke out in fact, Juliana and her brother Esues (Etuet) went to the Japanese administration in Ponape in an attempt to regain title to this lot. Shortly thereafter the Japanese became embroiled in the war and took no action on the claim. Apparently just at the outbreak of the War Juliana was taken away to a leper colony in the Marshals where I believe she has since died. She has left no descendants on Mokil so her brother Esues feels that this lot should be his.



Peter had this land at the time he was set up by Captain Melinder as a resident copra trader on Mokil, when he got himself deeply in debt by appropriating the stock of merchandise for the use of his family and friends as described in the section on the history of copra trading. As also described there, Peter put all of his copra land in the hands of Johnnie Higgins so Johnnie could cut the copra and apply the proceeds to liquidate Peter's debt. Three years later when Peter's debts were paid Johnnie returned Peter's copra land to him, but Peter told him to keep lot M-2 as payment for his services. In this way Peter combined a liberal gesture to Johnnie Higgins with the disposal of a piece of "hot" land. Peter did not, however, give the land to Johnnie Higgins in fee simple. It was given partly in consideration of Johnnie's promise to provide a whale boat for Peter's youngest son, Kelen, then a boy, when the latter reached manhood. Neither Johnnie nor his son George Higgins, who now possesses this lot, has ever presented Kelen with a whale boat or any other valuable consideration. Consequently Kelen, now head of one of the Mokil panyneys, feels that by rights the land is his. His claim, of course, conflicts with the earlier claim Esues is pursuing.

Lot M-3 is involved in the general controversy between Clinton, Jack and Isaac, the three sons of Julius Rupin, deceased. Julius did not divide his land before he died because he counted on his sons' remaining together in one harmonious panyney. This did not come to pass, however, and when the three divided Clinton kept this lot for himself. Isaac in particular, who got very little land in the division and is one of the poorest men on Mokil, feels that half of this lot should be his and asked us to show such a boundary when we made our maps. There was a great furor over this lot during our stay on Mokil because while Clinton was away on Ponape on one occasion and had left his land in the hands of his adopted son Lanka, Clinton's brothers Jack and Isaac made an unauthorized cutting of copra on this lot. The three brothers were called before King August when Clinton returned to Mokil at which time Jack and Isaac protested strongly against the prospects that adopted son, Lanka, would inherit Clinton's property. At that time Clinton gave his verbal promise that if Isaac's son and Jack's daughter would help him during his lifetime he would leave the bulk of M-3 to them, and leave only a little piece to Lanka. His nephew and niece were not helping Clinton during the remainder of our stay on Mokil, but he still stated his intention of leaving some of this land to each of them. This promise is to be viewed with suspicion.

Lot M-12 was originally part of M-10 and M-12A was part of M-11. At the time the resident white trader, Tom Day, was established on Mokil, he wanted a place in this vicinity of Manton handy to the boat channel, on which to set up a residence and copra storehouse. He acquired these two pieces of land, one from Labo, Harry's father, and one from Isaac, father of Bessie, Opet's wife, giving each man a few yards of cloth, a pound or so of tobacco, and an axe in return for the use of it. Labo, who must have been like a man with an insatiable thirst for

horse trading who always found himself on the losing end in every trade, actually acquired M-10 and 12 by exchanging them for M-34 and 35 in order that he could make his trade with Tom Day. Harry insists his father told him the transfer of this land to Tom Day was in his mind a rental and not a sale. The same position is taken by the present claimant to lot-12A.

Labo retrieved lot M-12 when Tom Day was expelled from Mokil. When the Jaluit Company, which in 1887 took over the interests of all other copra traders in this part of the world, came to Mokil they claimed M-12 and M-12A as part of the assets accruing to them. Charlie Dennis and Johnnie Higgins, who were their resident traders on Mokil, sided with them and poor old Labo, overwhelmed by "big men" and officialdom, did not protest that he had only rented the land, not sold it. So they build a copra house on this ground, and Johnnie Higgins cut the copra on lots M-12 and M-12A throughout German times, and continued into Japanese times when the Nampo Company took over the copra trade and assumed "title" to M-12 and M-12A.

These events occurred despite the fact that on August 15, 1895, when the Spanish governor visited Mokil and was told about the controversy involving these two lots, he ordered".... that the king deliver these lands to their original owners or to their heirs [and that] should they [the white men who had acquired the land] return, they should tell them, in order to avoid complications, that he [the Spanish governor] had so ordered it."<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>."Lorenzo Mayas: Viaje del Cañonero "Quiros," Revista General de Marino. Madrid, 1896. p.79.

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Today George Higgins receives the money from copra cut on this land, although he protests that it is not really his and that it actually belongs to the American government. In this connection it is to be noted that George is a leader in the opposition to King August over lot K-236 which George and his followers are trying to have declared public property. It is therefore necessary for him to keep his skirts clean concerning M-12 and M-12A. Actually it seems clear to me that lot M-12 should be returned to Harry who inherited M-10 from his father, Labo. Precisely who should have M-12A is a little more difficult to determine. M-11 and M-12A belonged to Isaac, the father of Bessie. He traded or leased 12A to Tom Day, and later Bessie gave lot 11 as dowry to her first daughter. The son of this daughter by her first marriage is Ernest, the current preacher, who lays claim to M-12A. M-11, however, is in the possession of King August because Bessie's daughter married August's older brother after her first husband died and has gone to live with him in the Marshalls. and her Mokil land as well as that

belonging to August's older brother is now operated by him. Consequently, August might argue Ernest's claim to M-12A should the decision be reached to return it to the heirs of the original owners as ordered by the Spanish governor in 1895.

The controversy over lot 20 in Manton illustrates three points that are important to the understanding of land tenure and transfers on Mokil: first the priority of patrilineal claims over matrilineal; second, the tendency for possessors of contested land to pass it on quickly; third, the fact that tenacity and aggressiveness are necessary if one is to recover land other people have seized. This lot, along with M-12, belonged to the ne'er-do-well, James, who fled Mokil in disgrace after his wife, who had borne him a son and a daughter, divorced him for non-support. Stories differ as to whether James got these two lots from his own mother or from his mother by adoption. In any case, his sister Shilom (Jilom) took them over when James left Mokil. James' son Esues reached young manhood before Shilom died and attempted to retrieve his father's land. Shilom had meanwhile given M-19 and M-20 as dowry to her daughter Clara (Kilara) who married Samuel Peter. Shilom agreed that Esues should have at least part of this land, and sent him to Clara who stalled him until her mother died and then attempted to keep the whole piece. Esues threatened to bring the matter to the attention of the colonial government (German?), but before he got around to doing so Clara passed on both M-19 and M-20 to her daughter Martha (Mata) as dowry. (Perhaps it was because Clara gave Martha this land in addition to Karlap 144 that Samuel tried to turn the latter piece over to his son Ianka, as described earlier.) Esues continued to pursue his claim on this land, and tackled Martha about it several times. She tried to evade him, but again he threatened to take the matter to the Japanese colonial government. Finally, about 1942, Martha made a compromise settlement by cutting the piece more or less in half, keeping M-19 and passing M-20 over to Esues. He has apparently accepted the compromise settlement, and probably will not pursue his claim to M-19.

Lot M-26 was given by Job (Jop) as dowry to his daughter Lillian when she married Belep. Belep was the man who lived more or less as a dependent with the paneyney of King Mak and later his son Joel, and whose divorce from Lillian created a scandal which made both of them pretty much outcasts from Mokil for the rest of their lives. When Lillian left Mokil after the divorce to marry a Kusaie man, her brother Willie (Welo) took over M-26. Lillian returned to Mokil once and tried to get this lot away from her brother for her son Joseph who still lives on Mokil, and



theoretically heads the Paneyney, but is actually a dependent in King August's paneyney. Willie refused to give it up and after he died his widow gave it to one of his daughters as dowry. This woman now lives in Ponape, and her brother makes use of the lot. Joseph has gone to Pernel, Willie's son and present head of that paneyney, and attempted to retrieve this land, but without success. Pernel's answer is that if Joseph can persuade August to give him the land August's father seized when Joseph's father left Mokil, then Pernel will do something about giving Joseph the land his father seized from Joseph's mother. August makes a similar answer when Joseph tries to retrieve his father's land.

Lot M-28A was given to Cortes (Kojtes) as a single piece with lot 28 by his mother. Cortes was the man who married the mother of illegitimate Joaj, head of the poorest paneyney on Mokil. It will be recalled that on his death bed Cortes charged his own children to treat Joaj as their brother and his mother as their mother, and to share the paneyney property with them. According to Joaj and his mother Cortes specifically stated that lot M-28A should be given to his second wife and her illegitimate son. His son Christopher, now head of the paneyney, not only has refused to do so but has driven Joaj, his wife, mother, and adopted child out of his paneyney and forced them to establish their own poverty-stricken paneyney.

Lot M-43 was given to Rebo, a Gilbert island woman, by her husband when he married her. The couple had only one child of their own, a daughter who later married King Mak. They adopted two sons including Belep, the man who went with Rebo to Mak's paneyney, and later was more or less ostracized from Mokil because of his scandalous divorce. Rebo gave M-43 to Belep when he was a young unmarried man. King August's father, Joel, seized this lot along with the rest of Belep's land at the time Belep divorced his wife and left Mokil. August inherited this lot from his father, and considered it his own, despite the protests of Belep's son Joseph, until our activities in studying land ownership impelled him to acknowledge it really belongs to Joseph. It is questionable in my mind whether he will really surrender it to Joseph unless some outside authority forces a definite decision.

Lot M-45 was the property of Lillian, the woman's whose divorce from Belep caused so much seizure of land. She obtained it from the property of Zacharias, her father by adoption, after his death and by the good offices of his eldest child by adoption, Wenewis. There are two stories as to how King August acquired this lot. Most informants say that his father Joel seized it at the time Lillian and Belep were divorced (their son Joseph was living with him). By this account August inherited it from his father. King August, however, says Lillian gave it to him although he does not specify why she should have done so. In any case, August has been claiming this lot as he has been claiming M-43, and has been using the money from copra cut on it. During my investigation of land transfers, however, he announced that he had given this lot to Joseph. As with M-43 it is my guess that August will continue to pocket the copra money and

Joseph will continue to be a dependent in King August's paneyney unless some superior authority steps in and definitely awards the lot to Joseph.

### Notes on Our Spelling of Mokil Names and Terms

We made no effort to learn the language of Mokil beyond the necessary technical terms, plant and fish varieties, Kinship terms, simple greetings and expressions which improved rapport, etc. We found several Mokilese men anxious to learn English and quickly concluded we could teach a few of them our tongue much more quickly than we could learn theirs. Our analysis of Mokil phonetics is therefore undoubtedly crude but for purposes of comprehension is adequate.

We devised a simple symbol system to represent phonemes, one that could be used on both our typewriters. The symbols used for our approximations to Mokil phonemes are listed and, where necessary, briefly discussed below:

Vowels				Diphthongs	
a	as in "father."	i	as in "hit"	ay	as the pronoun "I"
e	European close e.	o	as in "raw"	au	as in "loud"
i	European close i.	*	as in "up"	eu	glide from e to u
o	as in "rote"	u	as in "put"	oy	as in "boy"
u	as in "root"			ou	as in "boat"
a	as in "ant"			ya	as in "yacht"
e	as in "met"			wa	as in "wobble"

An unstressed and very short vowel between consonants constantly confused us. At various times in the same or different words it might sound like i, \*, e or u. I cannot say whether it is phonemically one sound or several.

The mute e (\*) occurs in stressed position as well as in our familiar unstressed position.

### Consonants

b, p and f are a single phoneme probably mid way between b and p.

f may have been assimilated to these since contact with English (Frank is pronounced b a r ay k).

d, t and v are likewise a single phoneme probably midway between d and t. V, like f, may be an assimilation from English.

g and k seem to be one phoneme.

h sounds like our aspirant.

I am uncertain as to whether or not ʒ is a separate phoneme from ʃ.

k is probably one phoneme with g.

l is present, probably also a retroflex l.

m is present

n is present

ng as in sing; occasionally used initially.



p is probably one phoneme with b.  
r is present, also an r consisting of a single voiced flick followed by an unvoiced trill which we represent by the symbol rr.  
s is present.  
sh stands for ʃ. There may also be a retroflex s which sounds like s sometimes and at other times like ʃ.  
t is present, probably also a retroflex t.  
w is present as a separate consonant and also as a glide between the bilabial consonants m and p (b) and a following vowel.  
' is the glotal stop, used only terminally, I believe.

Accent in three or four syllable names is usually, but not always, on the antepenultimate syllable. Two syllable words usually have the stress on the first syllable.

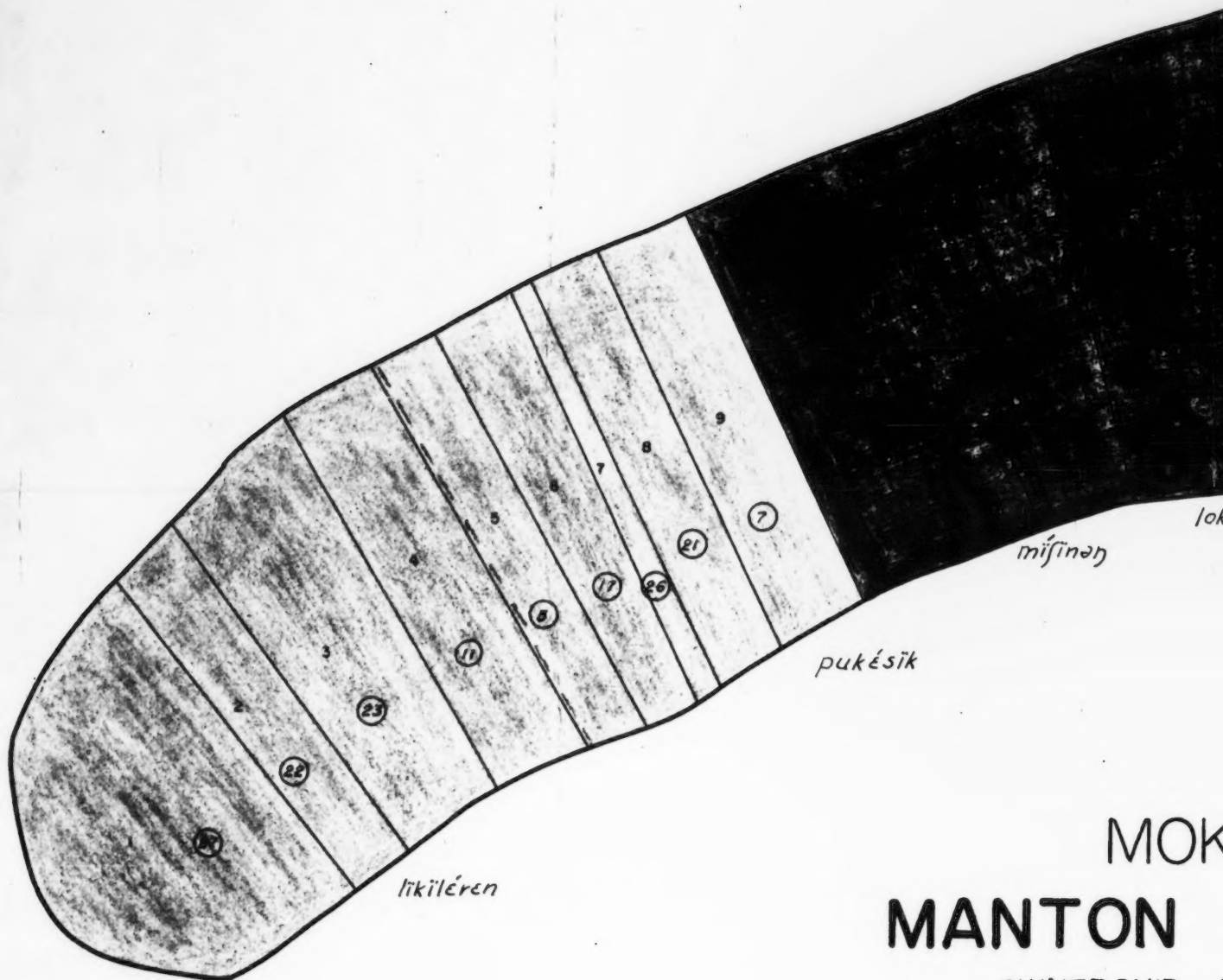
## Glossary of Mokil Terms Used in the Text

- Intinikam -- ceremonial da<sup>y</sup>long fishing competition for a species of fish called keb\*ni.
- Kapishu -- aboriginal warfare, a raid by men of one district on the enemy district.
- Keb\*ni -- unidentified species of fish living in the ocean near the reef on the windward side of Mokil.
- Lepenkatam -- aboriginal title of secular chief.
- Mar -- fermented or "pit" breadfruit.
- Nanau -- aboriginal title of sacred chief.
- Nobwe' -- first fruits ceremonies.
- Paneyney -- extended family, ideally and usually patrilineal and patrilocal; also used loosely to include extended patrilineal relatives.
- Patak -- southerly half of the dual territorial division of Mokil; formerly included all of Karlap south of lot 38 and Urak, now restricted to area of Karlap between lot 38 and lot 64; now the basis of district competition and rivalry, formerly also of warfare; aboriginally exogamous; also used in general sense of southerly.
- Payti -- northerly half of dual territorial division of Mokil; formerly included all of Karlap north of and including lot 38 and also all of Manton; now the basis of district competition and rivalry, formerly also of warfare; aboriginally exogamous; also used in general sense of northerly.
- Pwel -- cord made of coconut husk fibers used for lashing canoe parts together, fastening thatch on house rafters, etc.
- Shawa -- a type of wet-land taro.
- Shu -- a matrilineal clan.
- Takonong -- the competitive growing of shawa (taro).
- Torr -- cloth made in aboriginal times from banana fibre.
- Um -- stone "oven" for roasting or steaming food; consists of a pile of small boulders in a shallow depression which are heated by a wood fire after which the embers are raked out and the food, properly wrapped in leaves, is ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ covered with the hot stones and leaves, to cook.
- With\*r -- a small species of fish that lives in the shallow water on the reef, perhaps a form of cod.

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# MOK MANTON

OWNERSHIP

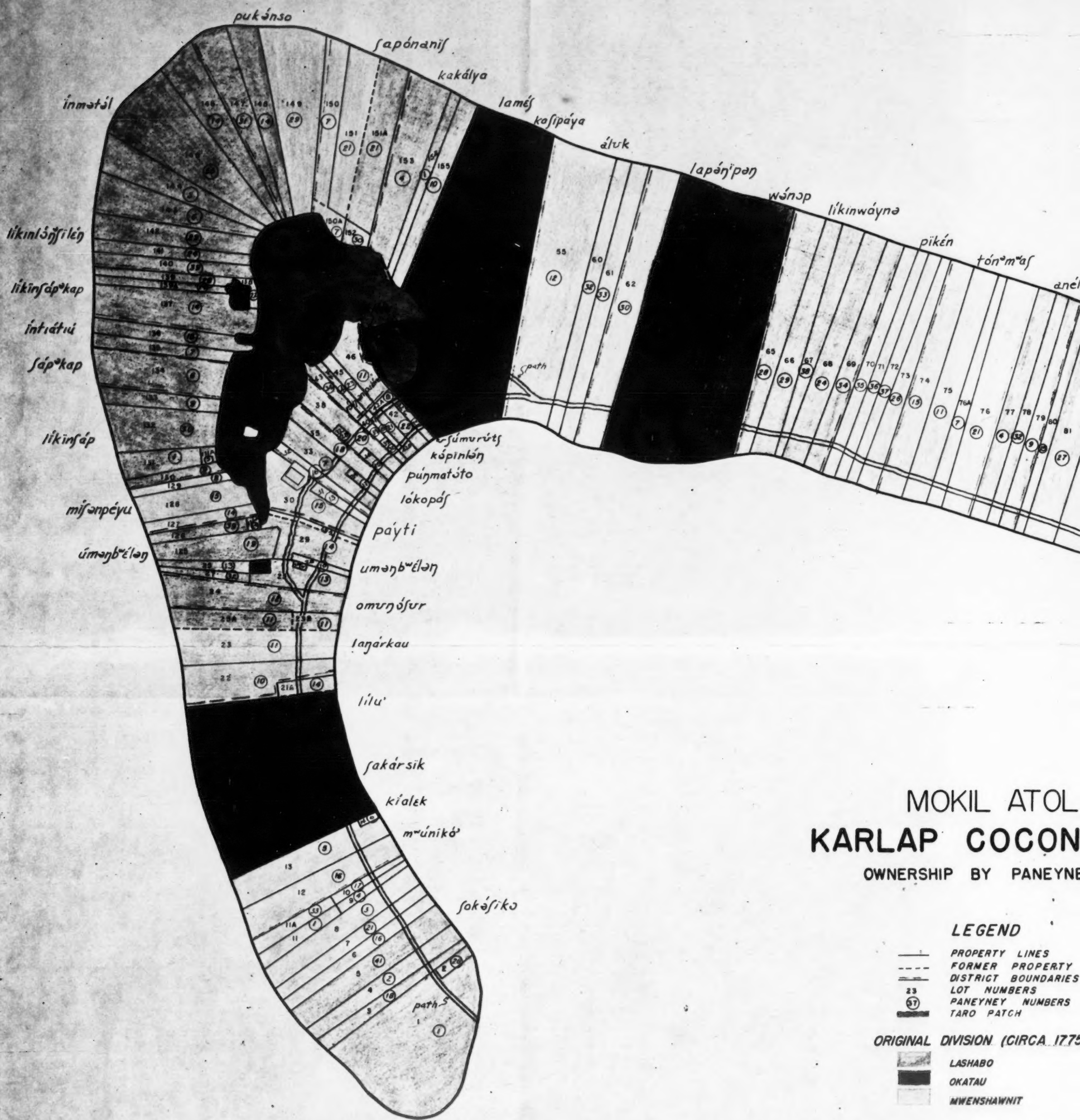
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- FORMER PRO
- DISTRICT B
- 23 LOT NUMBER
- 37 PANEYNEY M
- TARO PATO

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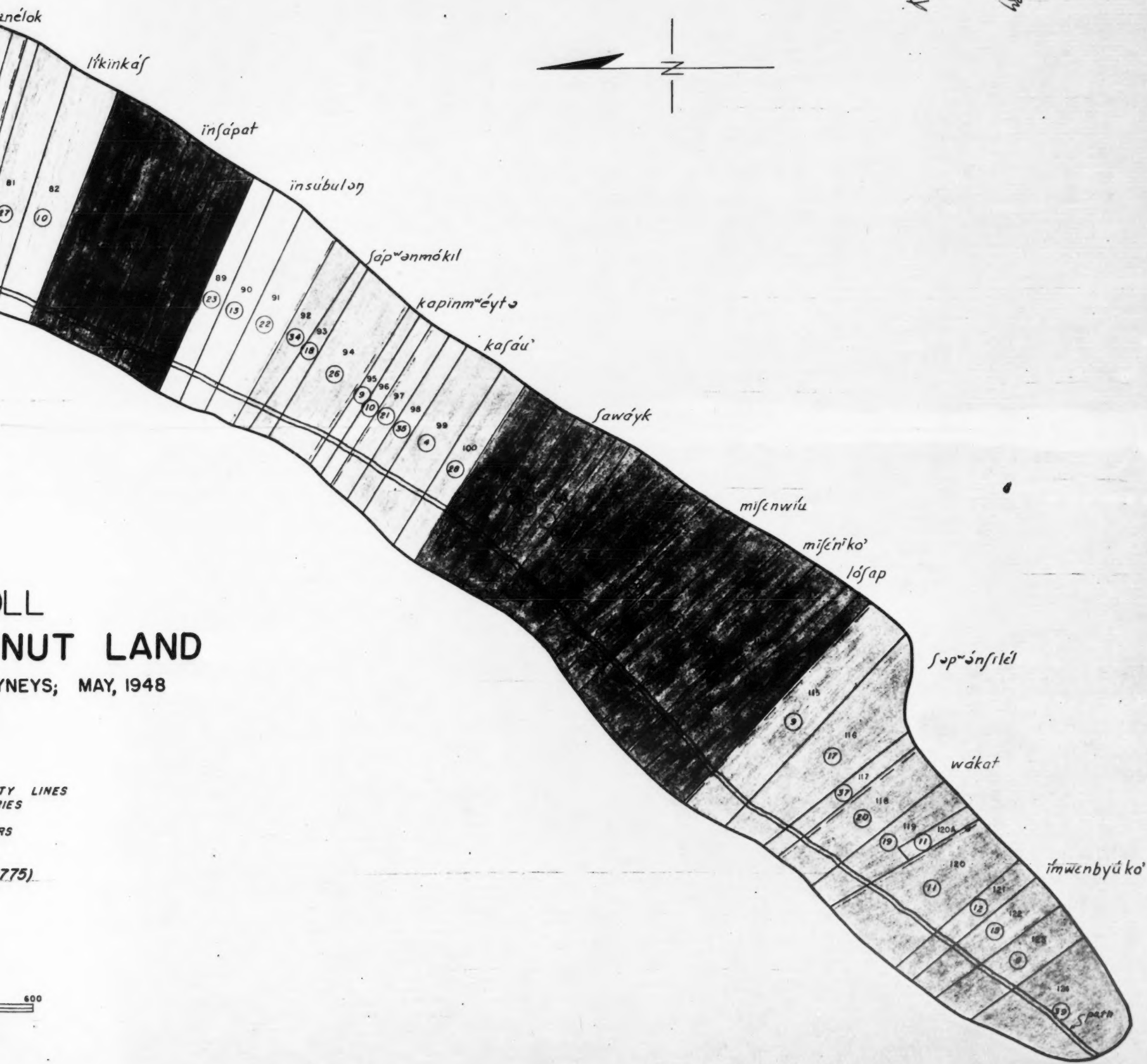
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C. BENTZEN





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 Dept. of Land Surveying  
 U.S. Surveyor General  
 L.A. 7, Cal.  
 Supplement to Map report



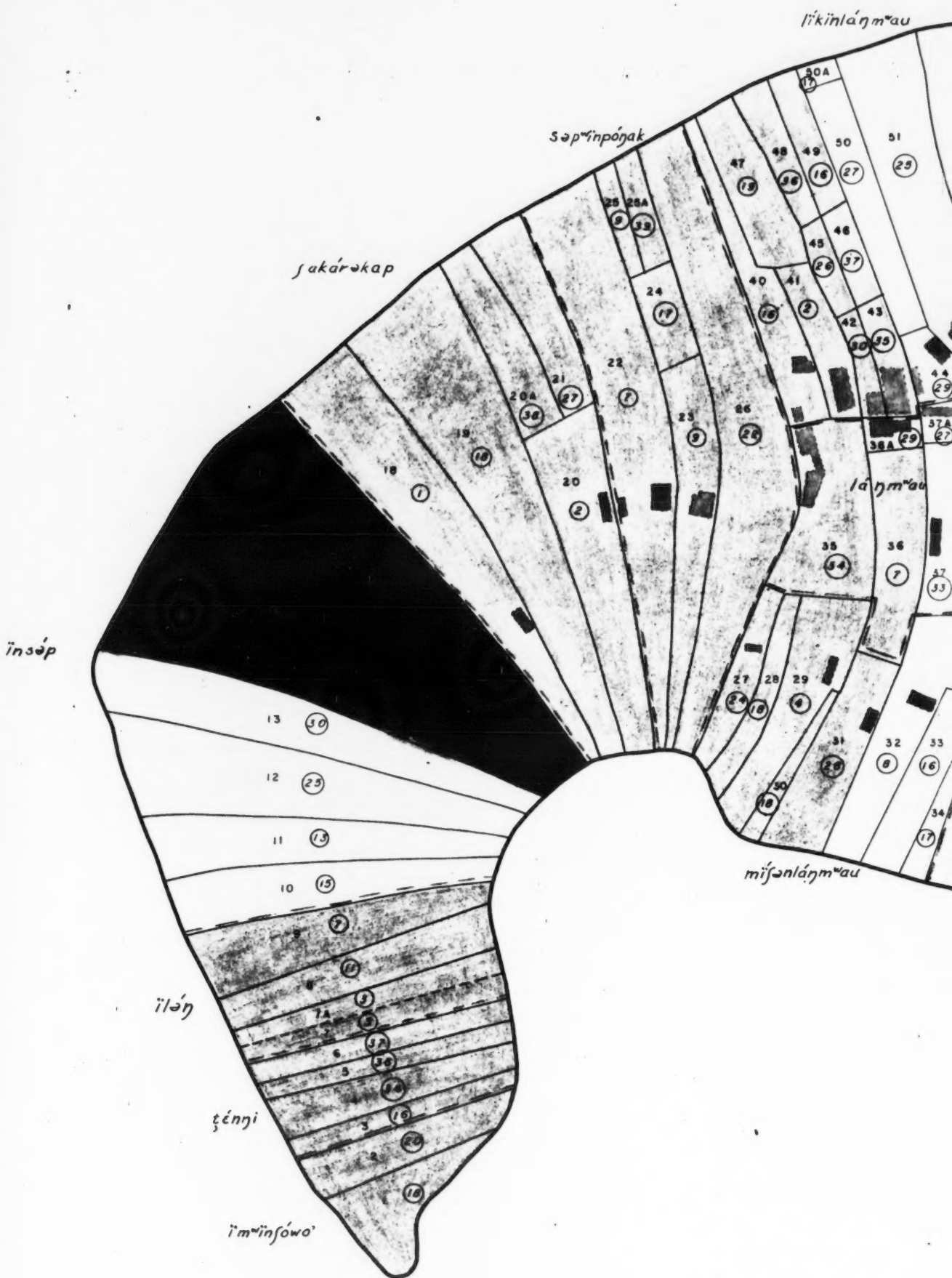
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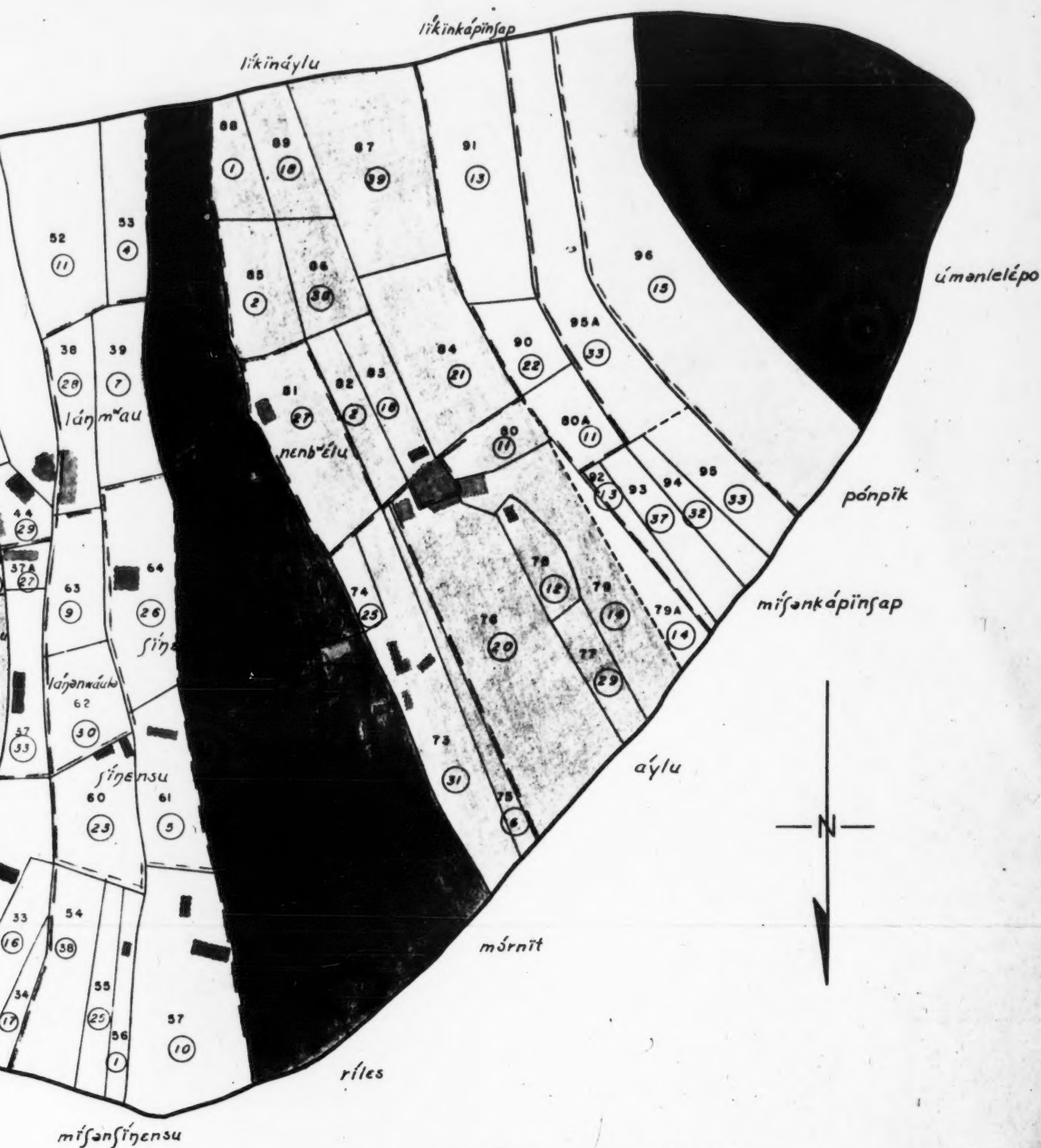
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# MOKIL ATOLL URAK COCONUT LAND

OWNERSHIP BY PANEYNEYS; MAY, 1948

## LEGEND

- PROPERTY LINES
- - - FORMER PROPERTY LINES
- - - DISTRICT BOUNDARIES
- 23 LOT NUMBERS
- 37 PANEYNEY NUMBERS
- █ TARO PATCH

## ORIGINAL DIVISION

(CIRCA 1775)

- █ LASHABO
- █ OKATAU
- █ MWENSHAWNIT

SCALE IN FEET

